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[HISTORY, ECONOMICS & SOCIOLOGY: NO. 5]

VOL. III

MAY 1934

PART I

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[HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY: No. 5]

Vol. III

July 1954

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PART I

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF GUJARAT

By

Prof. M. S. COMMISSARIAT, M.A., I.E.S.

Gujarat College, Ahmedabad

*PART III.—M. JEAN DE THEVENOT'S TRAVELS IN
GUJARAT IN 1666*

(*Lectures delivered by the author, under the auspices of
the University of Bombay, as the Thakhar Vassonji
Madhavji Lectures for 1930-31*)

Part I appeared in Vol. II, Part I of the Journal, and
Part II in Vol. II, Part IV of the Journal.

CHAPTER I

M. JEAN DE THEVENOT'S DETAILED ACCOUNT OF SURAT IN 1666.

The distinguished French traveller in the East, M. Jean de Thevenot, who visited India in the year 1666, deserves a high place

The value of among the European travellers of the seventeenth Thevenot's *Travels* century. He was a scholar of great ability and an

accomplished linguist, being proficient in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, acquisitions which enabled him to write as he did about those eastern lands through which he passed. Unlike Tavernier, Manucci and others whose primary purpose in the East was trade or business, Thevenot, we are told, devoted himself entirely to careful observation and enquiry, often questioning a number of people to ascertain the correct facts. This zeal for ascertaining the truth was so intense that he barely allowed himself time to eat, but it makes his work particularly valuable to the student of history. Even among scholars, however, Thevenot's *Travels* are little known owing to the fact that the only complete English translation of his work, made by A. Lovell and published in London in 1687, i.e., nearly 250 years ago, is now very rare and but little known.¹

M. de Thevenot, a person of gentle birth, was born at Paris on 7th June 1633, and he completed his studies at the age of 18 at the

Early career of M. de Thevenot. college of Navarre in the University of Paris. The next year, in 1652, he began a long journey, passing through England and Holland to Germany and then to Italy. From Rome he proceeded to Constantinople and the Levant, and, after staying a year in Egypt, joined the Lent pilgrim caravan to Jerusalem and visited the chief places of pilgrimage in Palestine. In 1659 he returned to his native land after some adventures on the seas with the Spanish corsairs. This completed his first journey extending over a period of seven years.

After spending four years at home in studies useful to a traveller, Thevenot left France in November 1663 on his second voyage His second journey through Iraq and Persia to India. Landing at Sidon, he to the East, and devoted his attention this time to Mesopotamia, Persia and India. Landing at Sidon, he and Persia to proceed by land to Damascus and Aleppo and India, 1663-68. then through Iraq to Mosul and Baghdad. Entering

1. M. de Thevenot's *Travels into the Levant*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687, Preface.

Persia in 1664 he journeyed by Kermanshah and Hamadan to Isfahan where he stayed for five months. It was in Persia that he met the celebrated Italian traveller and diamond merchant, M. de Tavernier, and the two joining company proceeded by way of Shiraz to Bandar Abbas. But while Tavernier was able to secure at this port a passage to India, Thevenot was not so fortunate because of the opposition of the Dutch. He, therefore, retraced his steps to Shiraz, and, having visited the ruins of the ancient Persian capital of Persepolis, he made his way to Basra and sailed for India in the ship *Hopewell* on 6th November 1665, arriving at the port of Surat about two months later, on January 10, 1666. His travels in India occupied the next thirteen months, the early part of which period was spent in a tour through the province of Gujarat which we propose to review in this and the following chapters.

On New Year's Day, 1666, the *Hopewell* sighted the south coast of Kathiawar and the island of Div, and Thevenot's reference to the

The great fort of Div described. The great Portuguese fort there shows the exactness of his information even though he did not land at this place. The fortress, he says, was considered impregnable, being surrounded by two ditches, both being filled with sea-water, and the outer one being large enough to admit of ships. The fort was further defended by solid stone bastions built very high upon the natural rocks and these were mounted with large cannon that played on all sides. It would be no easy task to capture such a fort unless the garrison could be starved into surrender by an enemy through lack of provisions. The water in the castle was cistern-water and every house had its cistern. Thevenot adds that, owing to its fine harbour, all the trade of the Indies was formerly centred here and at Chaul, but that the Dutch so ordered matters that it was wholly removed to Surat in his time.¹

On January 10, 1666, the *Hopewell* came to anchor at Surat 'bar' at the mouth of the Tapti, the bar being so called 'because of the many sandbanks that hinder great ships from enter-

Thevenot arrives at Surat, 10 Jan. 1666, ing the river before they be unloaded'. The following day, Thevenot and his fellow passengers got into smaller craft and slowly sailed up the river with the tide, reaching the custom-house at nightfall after passing the Castle. The night had to be spent on the river for no one could enter the town until the customs inspection had been carried out. The next morning they were taken to the shore on the backs of porters who came up to them in waist-deep water in order to carry them to the land,

1. Thevenot's *Travels into the Levant*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687, Part II, 196.

to be searched there according to the usual custom. 'Visited we were', says our traveller, 'but in so severe and vexatious a manner that though I did expect it, and had prepared myself for it beforehand, yet I had hardly patience enough to suffer the searchers to do whatsoever they had a mind to, though I had nothing about me but my clothes.'¹

The account of the custom-house procedure as given by Thevenot is of special value, for no such graphic information is supplied to us by any other traveller, not even in the *Journal* of Sir Thomas Roe, who devoted so many pages of his diary to his squabbles with the customs officials.

The custom-house procedure. We are told that as soon as a ship arrived at the bar its Master was expected to go up to the town in a boat to announce the fact to the customs people. An inspector then proceeded to the ship to prevent any smuggling or contact with other vessels lying in the harbour and he received from each passenger a fee that was equivalent to 18d. The passengers with their goods were next brought up to Surat in small barks, half a rupee being charged per head. The custom-house being open for business only between ten in the morning and noon, these boats had generally to pass a night in the stream opposite the wharf under proper guard. The next day the boats advanced as far as the depth of the water would permit and the occupants and goods were brought ashore by the porters on their backs.

On landing, the passengers were surrounded by a number of peons with large canes in their hands, whose duty it was to see that they did not communicate with any person, and who often

Every person drew up to make a lane for them to pass on to the searched court of the custom-house. Any attempt at smuggling would be attended by caning and a heavy fine.² The Chief of the custom-house sat in a Hall on a *divan* with his clerks below him. Each passenger was admitted singly into this room and his name entered in a register. His person was then subjected to a thorough search:

'He must take off his cap or turban, his girdle, shoes, stockings, and all the rest of his clothes, if the searchers think fit. They feel his body all over, and handle every the least inch of stuff about him with all exactness; if they perceive anything hard in it they rip it up, and all that can be done is to suffer patiently. The search is long and takes up about a quarter of an hour for every person severally.'

1. Thevenot's *Travel's into the Indies*, being Part III of his *Travels into the Levant*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1657, p. 2.

2. Thevenot says that those who had a mind to defraud the customs would manage their affairs more adroitly and not wait till they came to Surat. 'I have known', he says, 'some bring in a great many precious stones and other rich jewels which the officers of the custom-house never saw nor got one farthing by, because the Dutch Commander was their friend and had assisted them.'

This completed the personal search, and, if any gold or silver was found, two and a half per cent. of its value was taken as duty and the rest handed back and the individual permitted to go

Minute inspection of baggage and goods. out through a wicket at the gate. Next day, all had to come back for their goods or baggage left behind.

Every one had to wait outside the gate till he was called in, and Thevenot had the good fortune to be summoned with the first batch. His 'cloakbags' were brought into the middle of the Hall and emptied, and all the contents examined though he had no merchandise with him. 'My quilt was ript up', he says, 'they undid the pommel of one of my pistols, with pegs of iron felt in the holsters.' The clerks being satisfied, he was allowed to go after paying duty on his money. He informs us that others were generally not so fortunate and were not disposed of so quickly and some had to wait for a month before they could get out their baggage, and especially so if they had merchandise, on which they paid 'four in the hundred if they be Christians, and five in the hundred if they be Banian (Banyas).'

Thevenot arrived at Surat just two years after Shivaji's famous sack of the city and his account of the same will be given in the author's *History of Gujarat*. We learn from him that

New city-walls (*Sheherpanah*) begun, 1666. the city had only earthen walls and even these were nearly all in ruins. But he saw the new walls,

ordered by the Emperor Aurangzeb, just begun, and he tells us that they were made of brick about ten feet thick and as many high in order to protect the place against a repetition of the invasion. In his opinion, however, the engineer responsible for the plans made a serious mistake in their alignment for 'he built them so close to the Castle that people in the city would be masked from the fire of the artillery in the fortress, while those defending the Castle could easily be harassed by musketry.' The new walls were also to enclose a smaller area that had been enclosed by the old mud circumvallation, so that a large number of 'cane-built' houses, which formerly were within the city limits, were now excluded, a change for which several interested persons claimed fair compensation.¹

The walls referred to by Thevenot, which were probably begun soon after Shivaji's incursion in 1664, and of which, therefore, our

Remarks on the 'inner' and 'outer' walls of Surat. traveller saw only the early stages in 1666, are those which were long known as *Sheherpanah* ('the Protection of the City'). They appear to have taken over a decade in construction for when

1. Jean de Thevenot's account of Surat, trans. by H. G. Rawlinson. (*Bombay Antiquary*, Vol. LVI, 1927, p. 199.)

Dr. John Fryer, the famous surgeon at the English Factory, was at Surat in 1674 he found them still being built.¹ Though their lines may still be traced they have been now in ruins for nearly a century. These walls are also generally known as the 'inner walls' to distinguish them from the present 'outer walls' or the *A'zampanah* (the 'Shelter, of the World') which were built during the reign of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar at the time when Haidar Quli Khan was governor of the City.² The reason for this new fortification may be found in the increasing number of Maratha raids against the city which required both the city and the suburbs to be more adequately protected against the enemy. The line of the inner walls described by Thvenot still divides Surat city from the suburbs.

The Frenchman's account of Surat Castle³ is also quite interesting. He says it was situated on the river-bank to prevent the entry of any

Surat Castle one who might wish to attack the city by riding up
described. the Tapti. Its moats were filled with sea water on

three sides and on the fourth side, i.e., to the west, it
was protected by the Tapti. Several cannon were to be seen at the
embrasures. The royal revenues of this rich seaport and fertile district
were deposited in the Castle and only forwarded to the Court when a
special order was received to that effect. The entrance on the land side
was by a fine gate which opened on the principal bazaar or maidan of
the city. The office of the Head of the Customs adjoined the Castle
and the fortress had a special governor of its own.⁴

Surat is described as a medium-sized city with a large but fluctuating population. During the fair weather from November to April, when ships from various ports came there for traffic, it was so full of people that it was difficult to find comfortable quarters, and

1. J. Fryer: *East India and Persia*, (Hakluyt Society), Vol. I, 248. The same writer informs us that the walls were completed in 1579 (*Ibid.* III, 161-2).

2. Towards the close of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, Surat was harassed by the repeated excursions of the Marathas. To protect themselves from this danger, the people of Surat built sconces or bulwarks about half a mile outside the city walls, and set cannon on them (*Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies*, I, 148). For about ten years no attempt appears to have been made to convert these sconces into permanent defence. At last Haidar Quli Khan, governor of Surat from 1717-19, set to work to raise an outer line of wall with the help of the stones from the Gopi Talav. Tahawar Khan, the next governor, completed the line of fortifications thus begun, including the Wariz gate, calling it *Azampanah*, or 'the Shelter of the World'. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Surat and Broach, pp. 308, 314.)

3. This is the famous castle on the Tapti built in 1540, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat, by Khwaja Safer Salmani, who had the title of Khudawand Khan and who was governor of Surat from 1538 to 1546. (Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 147.)

4. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 200.

the three suburbs of the time were crowded. These foreign merchants comprised Persians, Arabs, Turks, and Armenians, besides the various Christian nationalities such as the English, the Dutch, etc.

The population of the City—the etc. Among the native population, after mentioning the 'Moors' or Muslims and the 'Gentiles' or Parsis.

Hindus, Thevenot specially mentions a third class which, he says, consists of the Parsis, 'who are also known as Goutes or Ateshperest, i. e., fire-worshippers.' He adds that they professed the religion of the ancient Persians and took refuge in India when the Khalif Omar subjugated the kingdom of Persia.¹ Our traveller goes on to state that there were some extremely rich people at Surat and that 'a Banya named Virji Vora, who is a friend of mine, is supposed to be worth eight millions (francs) at least.' The English and Dutch factories or lodges were very fine and there were quite one hundred Catholic houses at Surat.²

1. We give below the principal references to the Parsis of Gujarat in the works of the early European writers and travellers, the majority of which refer to the seventeenth century:

- (i) Jordanus, Friar (c. 1328). *Mirabilia Descripta*, trans. by Sir H. Yule, Hakluyt Society, 1863, p. 21.
 - (ii) Garcia de Orta (1563). *Colloquies dos Simples*, Lisbon, 1892, p. 213.
 - (iii) Terry, Edward (1615). *A Voyage to East-India*, London, 1777, pp. 336-344.
 - (iv) Lord, Henry (1624). *A Discovery of Two Foreign Seas in the East Indies*, 1630, in Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, London, 1732, Vol. VI, pp. 328 ff.
 - (v) Herbert, Thomas (1627). *A Relation of Some Years Travels begun Anno 1626* by T. H. Esquire, London, 1634, pp. 39-40.
 - (vi) Herbert, Thomas. *Sixte Years Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, etc., fourth impression, London, 1677, pp. 53-58.
 - (vii) Mandelstao, J. Albert de (1638). *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, trans. by John Davies, London, 1662, pp. 74-77. (The account is an interpolation by Mandelstao's French translator De Wicquefort.)
 - (viii) Manucci, Niccolao, (1658). *Storia di Mogor*, trans. by W. Irvine (Indian Texts Series), 1907, Vol. I, pp. 63-64.
 - (ix) Thevenot, Jean de (1666). *Travels into the Indie*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687, p. 15.
 - (x) Ogilby, John (1673). *Asia* (being his *Atlas*, Vol. V), London, 1673, pp. 218-222.
 - (xi) Poyer, Dr. John (1675). *A New Account of East India and Persia*, 1672-81, Ed. by W. Crooke, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I (1909), pp. 176, 293-95.
 - (xii) Ovington, John (1690). *A Voyage to Surat*, Ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, 1929, pp. 216-22.
 - (xiii) Hamilton, Alexander (c1690). *A New Account of the East Indies*, 1688-1723, Edinburgh, 1727, Vol. I, pp. 158-160.
 - (xiv) Valentyn François. *Oud-en Nieuwe Ost-Indië*, Amsterdam, 1726, (IV, 153).
2. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., p. 200.

Virji Vora, the Banya who befriended our traveller, was one of the wealthiest merchants at Surat at that period. The English Factory

Virji Vora and Records describe him and Haji Zahid Beg as 'those Shivaji's sack of great and eminent merchants who were plundered Surat.

by Shivaji of the greater part of their riches' during the first sack of Surat. We also learn that when Shivaji was at the gates of the city in January, 1664, he sent two men with a letter requiring the Governor, as also Haji Zahid Beg, Virji Vora and Haji Kasim, 'the three eminent merchants and moneyed men in the town to come to him in persona immediately and conclude with him.'¹ Volquard Iversen, who was on the staff of the Dutch factory at Surat at the time of Shivaji's invasion, in an extract from the official account of this sack, says: 'The most magnificent house of a very rich Banyan merchant, Virji Vora by name, was also reduced to ashes and with it six barrels of gold, money, pearls, gems and other precious wares. Shivaji had demanded the surrender of this merchant and another from the Governor, two days before, and was willing to let these suffice as ransom for the whole town.'² It may be mentioned that Virji Vora at Surat was contemporary with the great Jain banker and jeweller Shantidas at Ahmadabad.

The account given by Thevenot of the Kotwal at Surat, an officer who combined in himself the functions of Chief of the Police and Police Magistrate, is particularly full. He went about the city

The duties of on horse-back attended by his staff on foot, some of the city Kotwal at them carrying sticks and large whips while others were Surat.

armed with swords, lances, shields and iron maces. The Kotwal's methods of dispensing justice were summary, the delinquents being punished in his presence with the lash of the whip or blows from a stick and this penalty was inflicted in the public street at the very spot where the offence was committed. Thrice during the night, viz., at nine o'clock, at midnight and at three in the morning, this custodian of the peace took his rounds of the city. The process began at 9 p.m. when two of his men beat little drums while another sounded a long copper trumpet. The guards then shouted *khaberdar* ('be on your guard') at the top of their voices, and the sentinels who were in the neighbouring street responded with a similar cry to show that they were not asleep. This procedure was continued from street to street until the round was finished. Any one found in the streets at night was put into gaol and seldom let out without being beaten or whipped.³

1. *English Factories in India*, Ed. W. Foster, 1861-64, pp. 299, 310.

2. *English Records on Shivaji*, (1659-1682), *Shiva Charitra Karyalaya*, Poona, 1881, Part II, p. 345.

3. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 201-2.

The Kotwal being specially responsible for detecting thefts in the city, the methods sometimes followed by him to evade his responsibility for discovering the criminal were characteristic of the Mughal period. During Thevenot's brief stay at Surat, an Armenian merchant named Cogea Minias

Use of torture to prevent complaints.

(Khwaja Minas¹) was robbed of 2,400 sequins. Two of his slaves had disappeared at the time of the robbery but no trace of them could be found. The Governor of the city now informed the Kotwal that the money had somehow to be paid to the Armenian merchant, for, if the Emperor were informed of the matter, worse things might befall them than having to make good the stolen amount. The Kotwal, thereupon, asked permission of the Governor to imprison the wealthy Armenian and to question him and his servants, so as to discover by the use of the torture whether this money had been really and truly stolen from him. The request was granted but no sooner had the Armenian merchant news of this than he withdrew his complaint, preferring to lose all than to endure the torments which were being prepared for him. 'This', says Thevenot, 'is the usual procedure of the Kotwal.'²

In order to appreciate the incident that is next described by Thevenot we may mention that in 1664, in the early years of the personal

rule of Louis XIV and under the fostering care of his great minister Colbert, the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* was formed in France in order to secure for that country a share of the vast profits which the

Formation of the French E. I. Company by Colbert, 1664.

English and the Dutch were drawing from the East India trade. The new company received from the crown the perpetual grant of Madagascar (then officially named Ile Dauphine) and other extensive privileges, with rights of *seigneurie* of all lands and places which it might conquer. In order to prepare the way for the trading ships and merchants whom the Company was to send, Colbert despatched overland, at the end of 1664, five nobles and agents as representatives of the French crown to the Shah of Persia and to the Great Mughal with the purpose of securing the favour of these princes and for holding preliminary discussions with them for the conclusion of real treaties of commerce. Two of these agents, viz., De La Boullaye and Béber, appear to have come to Surat when Thevenot was in that place in 1665. It was, however, only in the beginning of 1668, nearly four years after the formation of the French East India Company, that any of the ships arrived by the sea-route to Suvali bar on the coast of Gujarat under

1. The Surat factors often refer to him as 'Cogea Minas' and describe him as an able and well respected Armenian merchant (*Eng. Factories in India*, Ed. by Foster, 1881-84, p. 207).

2. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 202.

Francis Câron (a Dutchman who had been appointed Director-General of the Company's factories in the East) as the ships that went by the first two fleets could proceed no farther than Madagascar.¹

M. La Boullaye le Gouz, mentioned above, was an Angevin noble who had travelled extensively in the East in the middle of the 17th century and whose account of his travels published in 1653

La Boullaye le Gouz and Béber sent as agents. was very popular.² It was entitled : "Voyages and Observations in which are described the religions, governments, etc., of Persia, Arabia, etc." By virtue of his intimate experience of Oriental countries, and especially of India, he appears to have been selected by Colbert in 1664 to go to the court of the Mughal Emperor along with Béber. After accompanying La Boullaye Le Gouz to Agra in Aug.-Sept. 1666, Béber returned to Surat. Here he proceeded to act on a farman of Aurangzeb granting the French a site for a factory at Suvali and permission to trade at Surat on the same terms as given to the Dutch and the English. Being a man of zeal and ability Béber had so well prepared for the arrival of the Company's ships that, when they came under Câron in 1668, the French factors were able to establish themselves at once.³

Thevenot informs us that, when he was in the Indies, the Governor of Surat was holding an enquiry into the character of the

Thevenot's reference to the French E.I. Company. French nation whose agents had arrived at India to seek for permission to trade for the newly formed company. But the Governor as well as the merchants were most reluctant to grant this company permission to enter under the belief that the French were pirates. This distrust arose from an episode which had taken place at Mokha some years before. One Lambert Hugo,⁴ a Dutchman, who sailed

1. *Cambridge History of India*, V, 63-66.

2. Tavernier says that he has spoken of M. de La Boullaye le Gouz in his account of Persia, and adds that this French traveller came from Persia to Surat with the help of the English and the Dutch who gave him money at Isfahan, for his purse had been empty a long time. At Surat, the Capuchin Father Zeson took him as his companion on a visit to Goa. From Goa the two went to Rajapur, where they were imprisoned, but subsequently they returned to Suvali. This visit of La Boullaye to Surat must have taken place before 1650. (*Tavernier's Travels in India*, Ed. by Bell, I, 224 and n.)

3. *Cambridge History of India*, V, 62, 66, 617.

4. Full details about Signor Hubert (not Lambert) Hugo, the Dutch rover, are given by Sir W. Foster based on the *Batavia Dagh-Register*. "He had been in the Dutch Company's service as Chief of their Factory at Ahmadabad, and had gone home in November 1654. He sailed from Amsterdam about August 1661, in a new vessel named the *Black Eagle*, of 36 guns and 100 men, bound ostensibly for Guinea and the West Indies. A call was made at Havre, where a number of Frenchmen joined the crew, bringing a commission from the Duc de Vendôme. The ship went first to St. Augustine's Bay, in Madagascar, and then made for

under the French flag and had several Frenchmen on board, had (in 1652) by an act of piracy seized, under circumstances of great torture to its captain, a ship belonging to the Queen of Bijapur and carrying a great deal of money, jewels and other rich presents intended as offerings and for distribution at Mecca, Medina and other holy cities. The Queen herself, having taken passage in a Dutch ship, had escaped Hugo's attentions. This episode had created a great stir all over the coast and had given the French nation a bad reputation in the eyes of Indians.¹

The situation was awkward for the French Company, but Tbevenot informs us that it was saved by the intercession of the famous French missionary Father Ambrose, the

Father Ambrose intercedes for the Superior of the Capuchins,² who went in person to the Governor of Surat to warn him not to trust the

reports of the enemies of the French Company who were in league to ruin it if they could. The Governor, who held the Father in the highest respect, adjured him to tell him the truth about this matter as to whether the French who wanted to land were pirates or not. After considerable difficulty the Capuchin monk succeeded in persuading the Governor that Hugo was not French and that the latter were not coming with the desire for plunder. The Father was asked to put down in writing what he had said and this was forwarded to the Great Mughal who being satisfied gave permission to the French to come to Surat. The Governor now made much of Messrs. de la Boullaye and Béber, the delegates of the French Company, and told them that, after the testimony of Father Ambrose, he would render them any services that he could. The English President

the Persian Gulf, but, the winds being contrary, was forced to put into the Red Sea (April, 1662) where several Indian and other vessels were captured. The Governor of Mokha equipped a squadron and sent it against the freebooter, but without success; and in June, 1662, Hugo sailed away with a booty estimated at from four to five tons of gold." (*English Factories in India*, Ed. by W. Foster, 1661-64, p. 189 n).

1. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit. 203.

2. The Capuchins form an order of friars in the Roman Catholic Church, being the chief and only permanent off-shoot from the Franciscans. The pointed or pyramidal hood (*capucine*), assumed by its founder in 1520, gave the order its popular name. Its members have to lead a life of extreme austerity, poverty and simplicity—in all matters as near an approach to the ideal of St. Francis as possible. Their great external work was preaching and spiritual ministrations among the poor. The order was one of the chief factors in the success of the Counter-Reformation of the 17th century. From an early date it undertook missions to America, Asia and Africa. Though 'the poorest of all orders', it has attracted into its ranks an extraordinary number of the highest nobility in all countries of Europe.

at Surat also did them all the honour that was in his power and sent them his carriage and his men to welcome them.¹

The history of the Capuchin Mission in India dates back to the year 1640 when Father Zénon of Beaugé established himself at Surat with two others of his order. He was soon after

History of the Capuchin Mission at Surat. joined by Father Ephrem of Nevers who came from Isfahan and who two years later founded the mission

at Madras. The first Mission House at Surat was an ordinary native hut, but about 1654, largely through the help given by the jeweller Tavernier, they were able to erect a decent dwelling place and a substantial church. Father Zénon continued to work in Surat till the end of 1651 when he was succeeded in his office by the famous Father Ambrose of Preuilly whose missionary labours in this city extended over a quarter of a century till his death at Surat at his cherished mission on 4th December, 1675. This saintly divine was endowed with rare qualities which endeared him to his order and obtained for him the esteem and veneration of all classes in the city. It may be noted that the Capuchin Mission in India was under the jurisdiction of the *custos* or superior of Aleppo and had as Prefect the Provincial of the Capuchins of Tournai.²

Thevenot's *Travels* give us perhaps the best account yet available of the intrepid Capuchin Father Ambrose³ and the great influence which he wielded at Surat both with the officials and the people

The Capuchin Father's great reputation at Surat. by virtue of his piety, intrepidity, charity and commanding personality. He generally settled all disputes

among the Christians in the city, especially among the Catholics, and so well was his authority backed up by the local officials that he could compel any party that did not wish to accommodate itself to bow to his decision. If he found the behaviour of any Christian at Surat scandalous he did not hesitate to imprison the person, and neither the Governor nor the Kotwal, if petitioned for release, would interfere, saying that it was a matter over which they had no control. At the most they would offer their intercession to the Capuchin. Father Ambrose had permission to banish from the city persons of too

1. Indian Antiquary, op. cit. 204.

2. Article by Fr. Felix O. M. C. entitled 'Capuchin Missions in India' published in the *Friars of India* (Agra), January, 1930, pp. 31-33.

3. The famous Venetian traveler and physician Niccolao Manucci, who spent almost a lifetime in India in the 17th century, and who first landed at Surat from Persia in January, 1656, refers in his account of Surat to the Capuchin Father as follows: 'On my first visit to the port I found there no more than two factories, one English and one Dutch, and a little church belonging to the French Capuchin fathers, whose superior was the famous priest Brother Ambrolio. Afterwards the French came and built a handsome factory.' (*Storia de Mogor* by Niccolao Manucci, trans. by W. Irvine, Vol. I, pp. LVII, 62.).

irregular living, the Kotwal sending his peons to conduct them out of the town to whatever place the Capuchin might desire. The Father used his influence in helping Hindus also, securing their release if imprisoned for some minor offence. He would boldly dispute about the merits of the Christian Faith even in the presence of the Governor and on one occasion he brought back to her duty a Christian woman who had deserted her religion and embraced Islam, himself going in person to take her away from the house of a nobleman who had seduced her.¹

In his section on the 'Incursion of Shivaji', Thévenot mentions the magnificent courage with which, in January 1664, Fr. Ambrose went up to Shivaji on the evening of the first day, moved by Father Ambrose compassion for the poor Christians resident at Surat, intercedes with Shivaji for the Christians, 1664. and spoke to the Raja in their favour, asking him at least to do no injury to their persons. Shivaji respected him, and took him under his protection, granting him his request. Though all the city, except the European factories, was pillaged, the invaders spared the Capuchin monastery at Surat, the pillagers passing by this convent when near it under orders received from their chief.² Bernier confirms this statement, for he says: "I forgot to mention that during the pillage of Surat, Sevagi, the holy Sevagi I respected the habitation of the Reverend Father Ambrose, the Capuchin missionary. 'The Frankish Padrys are good men,' he said, 'and shall not be molested'."³

The information supplied above in such detail may be supplemented by that given by Tavernier.

Tavernier's account of the Capuchin Church at Surat. After stating that the Mughal power did not permit the Europeans settled at Surat to have a house of their own lest they might convert the same into a fortress, he adds: 'The Reverend

Capuchin Fathers have built a very commodious one upon the model of the houses of Europe, with a beautiful Church, and I myself furnished a large portion of the money which it cost; but the purchase had to be made under the name of a Maronite merchant of Aleppo named Chalebi, of whom I have spoken in my account of Persia.'⁴ Both the monastery and the church have now completely disappeared. In 1877 a wooden cross, on an open plot of land not far from the Municipal Hall, marked the site of the altar of the chapel or church of the Capuchin Fathers. A metal tablet attached to the cross bore a Latin inscription which read: 'Here stood the only altar of the

1. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 223.

2. *Ibid.*, 222.

3. *Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Ed. by Constable and Smith, Milford, 188.

4. *Tavernier's Travels in India*, Ed. by Ball, I, 7.

ancient church of the Capuchins.¹ Both the cross and the tablet have now disappeared.

The Chalebi mentioned by Tavernier was no doubt a member of the wealthy and influential family of foreign merchants, probably

The Chalebi Syrian in origin, which we find carrying on trade at family at Surat. Surat during the second half of the 17th century.

The English Factory Records relating to the years 1702-3 make frequent mention of one 'Sallemon or Sallamond Chellaby (Sulaiman Chalebi) a Turk,' who was in high favour with the Governor Diyanat Khan, but who was taken into custody and put into chains by the next Governor Itebar Khan on the complaint of the Banya inhabitants of the city that he had extorted from them the sum of 85,000 rupees on behalf of his late master in connection with protection against the Maratha inroads.² A Persian poem called *Qisseh-i-Rustom Manek*, recently edited by Sir Jivanji J. Modi, also refers to a rich merchant named Osman Chalebi at Surat. A large ship belonging to him, which was returning from Jeddah, had been captured at sea by the Portuguese and taken to Daman. At the request of the Governor Armanat Khan and other merchants, Rustom Manek, the leading Parsi magnate of the day, who was broker or *daijal* both to the Portuguese as well as to the English nations, was induced to undertake a journey to secure the return of the ship. Rustom Manek, thereupon, proceeded first to Daman and then by way of Bassein to Goa where he met the Portuguese governor and offered him presents. The matter was referred to the authorities at home and, after a nine months' stay at Goa, Rustom Manek returned to Surat in this very ship for the release of which he had worked so successfully.³

Besides the two references mentioned above, we may mention that there is to-day a mosque at Surat situated in the Sodagarwad (merchants' quarter), behind the municipal or

Chalebi Masjid and Garden at Surat Mughalsarai building, which is still known as *Chalibini masjid*.⁴ The English Factory Records

at Surat for the year 1748 also refer to a well-known garden at Surat named 'Osman Chellaboy's Garden' which is described as immediately adjoining the Hon. Company's Garden.⁵ The

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Surat and Broach, 304.

2. G. W. Forrest: *Selections from the Letters, etc., in the Bombay Secretariat, 1887*, Home Series, Vol. I, pp. 241, 243, 244, 284-86.

3. Sir J. J. Modi: 'Rustom Manek and the Persian *Qisseh*', in *Journals, B.B.R.A.S.*, Dec. 1930, Vol. VI, (N.S.), pp. 38-40.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8, 163-4 and n.

5. G. W. Forrest: *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, etc., in the Bombay Secretariat, Home Series, Vol. I*, pp. 285-86.

well-known building known as the Darya Mahal at Surat is also said to have been built by a later Chalebi named Muhammad Saleh Chalebi, who was a great merchant and owner of many ships.¹ No traces of any descendants of this once famous family of Surat merchants can now be found in this city.²

In his account of the cemeteries of Surat, Thevenot says that they were situated outside the city, three or four hundred paces from the Broach gate,³ and that, apart from those of the English

The tomb of the
lovable Dutchman
at Surat.

and the Dutch, the Catholics had a special one of their own. These two nations used to adorn their tombs with 'brick pyramids coated with lime,' and at the time of his stay in Surat one was being built for a Dutch President which was to cost eight thousand francs. A very interesting account is given by our traveller of one of the Dutch tombs raised over the grave of a certain toper who had been banished to India by the States-General of Holland and who was said to be a relative of the Prince of

The reference is to the troubled period in Surat history following upon the death in 1746 of Teg-Bakht Khan, the first independent governor or Nawab of Surat. There was civil strife for several years between Saifdar Khan and Mia Achhan, the son-in-law of the late ruler, in which the English and the Dutch at Surat took opposite sides. In 1748, the English, who had espoused the claims of Mia Achhan, arranged for the detention of Saifdar Khan in Osman Chalebi's Garden at Surat under guard for the space of twelve days. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Surat and Broach, pp. 123-25.)

1. Sir. J. J. Modi, 'Rustom Manek, etc.', p. 164 and n.

2. Chalebi appears to have been a name representing a clan rather than a single family. It is interesting to note that the surname of Chalebi was also borne by the famous Turkish Admiral and writer Sidi Ali Reis, who was stranded on the Gujarat coast with his fleet in 1584 during the reign of Sultan Ahmad III of Gujarat, and who visited Surat when Rajab Salmani, the son of Safar, was governor of this city with the title of Khudawand Khan. Sidi Ali was the author of the famous Turkish work, the *Mirat-ul-Mawaliq*. We have no reason to connect the Chalebi family of the later seventeenth century at Surat with this Sidi Ali who was only a bird of passage.

3. There is no gate in the present city-walls of Surat which is known as the Broach-gate. In 1664, at the time of Shivaji's first sack of the city, Surat was surrounded by mud walls with some ill-built gates. Ogilby says (*Asia*, 211) that there were three, viz., one leading to Broach, Cambay and Ahmedabad; the other to Burhanpur; and the third to Navaari. The Broach gate was thus to the north. Thevenot mentions it twice, and Dr. John Fryer also says in 1675 that he went out by the Broach-gate (*East India and Persia*, I, 252). When the new or 'inner' city walls of brick were made, the construction of which was witnessed both by Thevenot and Dr. Fryer, the gate to the N. W. of the city came to be familiarly called the Variav-gate, from the name of the first big village which had to be passed on the road to Broach. In the later or 'outer' city-walls, built in 1717, known as the *Allengowak*, which now surround Surat, there are two gates on this side, viz., the Variav Gate in the N. W. and the Katargam Gate. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Surat and Broach, 308-9).

Orange.¹ 'To show that he was an adept in the art of drinking,' says our author,

'A large stone cup has been placed on top of the pyramid, and another cup at each of the corners of the tomb below, and besides each cup there is the figure of a sugar-loaf: and when the Dutch want to amuse themselves at this tomb, they make a hundred stews in these cups, and use other smaller cups to take what they have prepared out of the large ones, and then they eat or drink it.'²

Another pleasant resort of Surat at the time when the place was visited by Thevenot was what he calls the Princess's Garden (Begum Wadi), named after the sister of the Great Mughal.

The 'Begum Wadi' at Surat. This lady was the famous Jahanara Begum, sister to Aurangzeb and daughter of Shah Jahan. Surat had been given to her as Jagir and she founded the suburb known as Begumpura where the garden described by the French traveller was situated.

According to his account, it contained several straight avenues, among these being four which traversed the garden cross-wise with a small channel in their midst. In the middle of this royal garden was a building with four fronts each having its divan in front of which was a square tank full of water, whence issued the streams which flowed along the main avenues. Thevenot, however, thought that the garden did not come up to the elegance of those in his native land with their bowers, their flower-beds or their accurate divisions.³ This may not be in agreement with the opinion of some to-day that the Mughal gardens, especially those of Northern India, could hold their own against similar structures in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When the Dutch traveller Stavorinus visited the Begum Wadi a century later, in 1775, he found it in a deplorable state of decay.⁴

1. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 217.

2. J. Ovington, who had evidently read Thevenot's *Travels* very carefully, makes a humorous reference to this unknown Dutchman's tomb at Surat. It was, he says, 'built by the order of a jovial Dutch commander, with three large punch-bowls upon the top of it, for the entertainment and mirth of his surviving friends, who remember him there sometimes so much that they quite forget themselves.' (Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, Ed. by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1929, p. 236).

3. *Indian Antiquary*, op. cit., 218.

4. More than a hundred years later, on 21st November, 1775, the Dutch Captain and traveller, John Splinter Stavorinus, visited this garden of which he writes: 'I went to see the garden which had been laid out by Begum Sahib, sister to the celebrated Aurangzeb. I walked over it with Thevenot's *Travels* in my hand, and found everything perfectly agreeing with his account, making allowance for the circumstance that that traveller saw it in its greatest splendour, and I, more than a century afterwards, in a deplorable state of

Perhaps not the least interesting part of Thevenot's account of Surat is his chapter 'On Tary,'¹ the popular beverage among a very

Account of the large section of the country population of this district. Tary—a famous 'Tary' says our traveller, 'is a liquor which they drink beverage.

with pleasure in the Indies'. It is drawn, he adds, from two sorts of palm-trees, viz. from the *Cadgiour* (Khajur) palm and from that which bears the Coco. We shall quote Thevenot's account of the manner in which the juice was extracted to show how close and accurate his observation was, as also how the methods of to-day hardly differ from those practised three centuries ago :

'They who draw it gird loins with a thick leather girdle, where-with they embrace the trunk of the tree, that they may climb up without a ladder; and when they are come to that part of the tree from which they would draw the Tary, they make an incision one inch deep and three inches wide, with a pretty heavy iron chisel, so that the hole enters into the pith of the Cadgiour (Khajur)

decay.' (J. S. Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*, trans. by S. H. Wilcocke, London, 1798, Vol. III, p. 177.)

A fuller account by the same writer, printed in another volume of the same work, is given below :

'The pleasure-garden laid out by Begum Saheb, the sister of Aurangzeb, is at present in a most desolate state of dilapidation. This is situated in the outer town, near the Nassari (Navaari) Gate. Thevenot, who was here in the year 1666, and calls it the *garden of the princess*, describes it with much accuracy and fidelity. It remains still in an entire state; and I went over the whole of it, with his description in my hand. Most of the trees, however, have been cut down; and few remain but those constituting the four chief walks, and one or two of the others, being all tamarind trees. Flowers are not found here; all the ground is sown with different sorts of pulse and greens. It is surrounded by a high wall, and, I compute, covers about fifteen or sixteen acres. The above mentioned traveller says that it lies out of the city; but the suburbs were not then enclosed by walls.' (Stavorinus, op. cit., vol. II, 468-9).

1 Tari, now often written in the corrupted form of toddy, is the fermented sap of the *fir* or *palmyra* tree, as also of other palms, such as the date and the coco-palm. An early reference to this drink by a Muslim writer is that by Sidi Ali Reis, the Turkish admiral, who was stranded on the western coast and who visited Gujarat in 1554 (H. 962). After describing the liquor, he mentions a drunken brawl as the result of his men indulging in the forbidden drink. (*Travels of Sidi Ali Reis*, trans. by A. Vambery, Luzac, 1899, p. 29.) References to the *Tari* are made by several of the European travellers of the 17th century, viz., Della Valle, Sir T. Herbert, Van Twist, La Boullaye-le-Gouz, Dr. J. Fryer, etc. Of these, the most interesting is that by Della Valle who was entertained in 1623 by the Dutch factors at Broach : 'They treated us till night, drinking of Tari, which is a liquor drawn from the nut-trees of India, whitish and a little troubled, of taste somewhat sourish and sweet too, not unpleasing to the palate, almost like our Poignant or Brisk-wine; yet it inebriates as wine doth if drunk immoderately.' (*Travels of P. Della Valle*, Ed. by E. Grey, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, p. 62). See also Hobson-Jobson.

which is white. At the same time they fasten an earthen pitcher half a foot below the hole, and this pot having the back part a little raised, receives the liquor, which continually drops into it; whilst they cover it with briars or palm branches lest the birds should come and drink it. Then they come down, and climb not up the tree again till they perceive that the pitcher is full, and then they empty the Tary into another pot fastened to their girdle.¹

Thevenot, who evidently tasted and enjoyed the beverage, described clearly two varieties of Tary, viz., the fresh and

Two varieties of the Tary. the fermented:

'The best Tary is drawn in the night time, and they who would use it with pleasure ought to drink of that, because not being heated by the sun it is of an acid sweetness which leaves in the mouth the savour of a chestnut, which is very agreeable. That which is drawn in the daytime is eager, and most commonly made vinegar of, because it easily corrupts and decays.'

They whose business it is to trade in Tary, adds our traveller, have a prodigious number of these trees. The coco-palm, besides supplying the liquid, is put to many other uses, for its trunk provides material for masts and anchors and even for the hulls of ships, whilst sails and cables are made from its bark. The fruit that springs from its 'feathered branches' (viz., the cocoanut) is as big as a melon, and contains a very wholesome juice, 'which hath the colour and taste of whitewine.' We are also informed that the Dutch Company owned a large number of these coco-trees in Batavia and made considerable profit out

A source of profit to the Dutch at Batavia. of them, so much so that the revenue derived from the plantations near that town, including the fees charged on every stand for selling the liquor in the market place, was sufficient to pay their garrison. So rigorous were the regulations in this respect that if a man left his stand even for a few minutes and returned immediately, he had to pay the fees for a second time 'if he will challenge the same stand'.²

That Surat was in the second half of the seventeenth century a great emporium of foreign trade may clearly be seen from the statement

Surat a great emporium of trade at this period. made by Thevenot that, besides the stuff and cotton-cloths made in the Indies, all the important commodities of Europe as well as those of China were sold in its markets. These included porcelain ware, as also cabinets and coffers ornamented with turquoises, agates, cornelians, ivory, etc. There were sold at Surat diamonds, rubies, pearls and all the

1. Thevenot's *Travels in the Indies*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1687, p. 17.

2. Ibid.

other varieties of precious stones to be found in India. A considerable trade was carried on in other commodities and drugs such as musk, amber, myrrh, incense, manna, sal-ammoniac, quicksilver, lac, indigo, and 'the root roanas for dyeing red', and 'in general all those articles which foreign merchants buy for being sold into all parts of the world.'¹



1. Thevenot's *Travels in the Indies*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1657, p. 17.

CHAPTER II

THEVENOT'S ACCOUNT OF THE GOPI TALAV AT SURAT: WHO WAS MALIK GOPI?

The once famous reservoir and pleasure-resort at Surat, the Gopi Talav, has been mentioned by almost every European traveller of note

The Gopi Talav who visited this city during the seventeenth century.¹ described. P. Della Valle, the Italian traveller, who was at

Surat in 1623, more than forty years before Thevenot, has left an excellent account of this lake, and that given by our traveller may be said to equal it in fullness and accuracy. Thevenot mentions the reservoir in his chapter entitled *Of Divers Curiosities at Surat*, and says that it was situated near the Damant Gate, 'where the finest walk of the district begins.' It was a musket-shot in diameter, and had sixteen angles, and each of its sides was one hundred paces in length.² The bottom of the reservoir was paved

1. We give below references to the Gopi Talav given by various European travellers and writers, some of whom borrow from their predecessors without making an acknowledgment:

(i) Sir T. Roe. (1615) : *Embassy to the Court of the Great Mogul*, Ed. by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 112.

(ii) P. Della Valle (1623) : *Travels in India*, Ed. by E. Grey, Hakluyt Society, I, 34-5.

(iii) Sir T. Herbert (1627) : *Six Years' Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, London, 1638, p. 36 f.

(iv) J. Albert de Mandelis (1638) : *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, trans. By J. Davies, London 1662, p. 24; see Commissariat M. S., *Mandelis's Travels in Western India*, Oxford, 1931, p. 11.

(v) John Ogilby (1673) : *Asia*, London, p. 211.

(vi) Jean de Thevenot (1666) : *Travels into the Indies*, trans. By A. Lovell, London, 1687, p. 25.

(vii) J. Fryer, Dr. (1675) : *A New Account of East India and Persia* (1672-1681), Ed. By W. Crooke, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, p. 261.

(viii) A. Hamilton (c. 1690) : *A New Account of the East Indies*, (1688-1723), Edinburgh, 1727, Vol. I, 161-2.

(ix) J. S. Stavorinus (1775) : *Voyage to the East Indies*, trans. by Wilcocke, Vol. II, 472.

2. Sir Thomas Roe, who was at Surat in 1615, says that the lake was a polygon in form, with a hundred sides, each of eight and twenty yards. It had steps on all sides for people to descend and many slopes for horses. He adds, 'It is a wondrous work, both for the hugeness and for the brave building.' (*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Ed. by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 112.) According to Della Valle, the diameter of the lake was 'two good furlongs' (*Travels*, Vol. I, 32.)

with large smooth stones and it was surrounded by steps of fine freestone after the manner of an amphitheatre reaching from the top of the tank down to the bottom. Where there were no steps there was a sloping descent to the basin.

In the middle of the reservoir was an island on which stood a stone building, some 25 feet high and as many in length and width,

Its pleasure-house could only be approached by boat and canal.

here the people from the town came to take the air and enjoy themselves. The great tank was filled with rain-water. After flowing through the country-side, where it formed a large canal, over which bridges had to be made, the water was made to run into a large area enclosed by walls, whence it passed into the great reservoir through three circular outlets each having a diameter of over four feet.¹ Thevenot mentions the popular tradition that the lake was constructed at the expense of a rich Banya named Gopi for the public

'A work worthy of a king.'

benefit. He adds that formerly no other water but that from this tank was drunk at Surat and that the five wells, which supplied the whole city with water at the time he was there, were made a long time after the tank was constructed. 'It is most certainly,' he adds, 'a piece of work worthy of a king, and may well be compared to the finest ever built by the Romans for the public benefit.' He notes, however, that for lack of proper care in upkeep, the reservoir was silted up with six feet of slime in his time, and his foreboding that it would be completely filled up with earth some day 'unless some charitable Banya has it cleared out' has been amply fulfilled during the last two centuries.²

Dr. John Fryer's account of the Gopi Talav when he saw it in 1675, nine years after Thevenot, is also very interesting. After saying

Dr. J. Fryer on 1675 that it was outside the walls of Surat and a mile in the circumference, he adds:

'Many sumptuous mausoleums are erected near its brink, with aqueducts to convey water with which, were it filled, the best ship that swims in the sea might ride in it. It looks now more like a circus or gymnasium, able enough to contain as many as such spectacles would delight. In their great solemnities it is usual for them to set it around with lamps

1. 'The Cistern or Lake at Surat hath a great trench (i.e. canal) adjoined to it on one side, long, large and deep,—over which certain small bridges are built; and it falls into another less Cistern a good way off; 'tis built with many sides of stone like the former, as also the banks of the trench are. Between the great lake and the less, upon the trench, stands a small Cupola or arched structure, made for the sepulture of some principal Mahometans of the country.' (*Travels of P. Della Valle*, Ed. by E. Grey, Hakluyt Society, 33.)

2. *Jean de Thevenot's Account of Surat*, Indian Antiquary, 1927, Vol LVI, p. 218,

to the number of two or three leagues (lakhs), which is so many hundred thousand in our account.¹

The site of the once famous Gopi Talav at Surat is at present to be found west of the suburb of Salabatpura and north of Rustampura.

Present condition. The area of about 58 acres of land covered by the bed and banks of this old reservoir is now occupied by fields and trees and a few houses. The stone steps which once rose tier above tier to the level of the ground have now completely disappeared, the stones being carried off partly to build the outer city wall (in 1717) and partly to make the large well that now stands within the former bed of the lake. In fact, so thoroughly was the whole place dismantled, that the Dutch Sea-Captain Stavorinus, who visited Surat in 1775, searching about for the great tank² with Thevenot's *Travels* in his hands, could not discover it.³ According to the Persian inscription, the well mentioned above was constructed by Haidar Quli Khan, who was Governor of Surat during the reign of Emperor Farrukhsiyar, and in whose time the outer city wall (*Azam-purah*) was begun. The Gopi Talav is one of the most historic of the memorials of Surat belonging to the early period of the Gujarat Saltanat.

We shall now proceed to put together all the historical information available to us about this powerful Hindu noble Gopi who was evidently a native of Surat and who built this

Who was Malik Gopi? famous Gopi Talav in that city besides founding the suburb known as Gopipura. According to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, he was a Brahman raised to power by Sultan Mahmud Begada, who later became a great minister of state under Sultan Muzaffar II, being a colleague of Malik Sarang Kiwam-ul-Mulk. At his intercession, the life of Rav Bhim of Idar, who had been defeated, was spared by the Sultan. He later fell into disfavour for allowing his servant to beat to death a young man, named Ahmad Khan, who at an entertainment in Malik Gopi's house came disguised as a torch-bearer to see a very handsome dancing girl owned by Gopi. The Sultan was enraged at the death of the young man, and ordered Gopi's house and effects to be plundered, after which he was brought before the Sultan with his hands tied behind his back. At the King's orders he was put to death.⁴

The Italian traveller, Pietro Della Valle, one of the earliest of the long series of European travellers in India during the

1. J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, 1672-81. Ed. By W. Crooke, Eshkuni Society, Vol. I, p. 261.

2. J. S. Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*, trans. by S. H. Wilcocke, London, 1798, Vol. II, 472.

3. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, 96, 131-33.

17th century, who visited Gujarat in 1623, has, with the exactness so characteristic of his writings, given us an account of the Gopi Talav at Surat which is even more detailed than that given by Thevenot. He visited Surat no less than forty-three years before the French traveller and saw the lake in all its pristine beauty and splendour. We do not propose to reproduce here what he says of the lake itself, but his reference to Malik Gopi's daughter, or rather descendant, who was alive in his time, is of special interest:

"Tis no long time this Cistern (the Gopi Talav) was made, according to the common report, by a private man of this city, but sufficiently wealthy whose daughter, they say, or rather one descended from him, is still living, and I know not by what sinister hap of fortune, very poor, so that she bath scarce bread to eat. Wherein I observed a great ingratitude of the citizens of Surat, in suffering his heir to want food, who for their public benefit had been at so great expense."¹

Another interesting reference to Malik Gopi and the poverty of his daughter is contained in an English work on Eastern travels written

J. Ogilby on
Malik Gopi, 1673.

in the 17th century. John Ogilby,² 'cosmographer, geographic printer and master of the revels in the kingdom of Ireland' to his Majesty Charles II, published in London in 1673, in a large folio volume, a work called *Asia*, which is described as the fifth volume of the publisher's *English Atlas*. It is an account of Persia and of the empire of the Great Mughal and other parts of India. Ogilby was not a traveller, nor does it appear that he ever visited India. But he expressly says that his account was 'collected and translated from the most authentic authors and augmented

1. *Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Ed. by Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 33-34.

2. John Ogilby (1600-1676) was a Scottish writer born in or near Edinburgh. He accompanied Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, when he went to Ireland in 1633 as Lord Deputy, and became tutor to his children and was later appointed deputy master of the revels in Ireland. On the outbreak of the civil war in 1641 he lost everything, and returned to England where he studied the Classics and translated Vergil into English heroic verse, followed by translations of Homer and Aesop. At the Restoration, Ogilby received a commission from Charles II for the 'poetical part' of the coronation. In 1662 he obtained a patent for master of the revels in Ireland. The Great Fire of 1666 destroyed his house at Whitefriars along with stock to the value of £ 3000. He soon after rebuilt his house and set up a large printing establishment, being invested with the ornamental titles of 'King's Cosmographer and Geographic Printer.' Ogilby printed many magnificent books, mostly in folio, several of them being illustrated, or, as he expressed it, 'adorned with sculpture,' by Holler and other eminent engravers. During the last years of his life, Ogilby devoted himself to the production of books of geography and topography copiously illustrated with maps and engravings. (Dict. of Nat. Biog. Vol. XLII, pp. 14-17).

with later observations.' His historical details are generally valuable and we give below the reference which he makes to Malik Gopi, after a short description of the famous Gopi Talav at Surat :

'This pond was made by a rich inhabitant of this city with the expense of his whole estate, in so much that his daughter became miserably poor none of the townspeople once relieving her, though her father had for their accommodation and the public good exhausted all his treasure. The pool is called Gopi Talav from the builder whose name was Gopi.'¹

It is from Portuguese sources, however, that we get a large part of the information available to us about this Hindu minister of the Gujarat Sultans. Duarte Barbosa, an officer in the

^{Portuguese ac-} service of the Portuguese in India, visited the towns of ^{counts of Gopi :} Gujarat in 1515, and when writing about the city of ^{Duarte Barbosa.} Surat he makes the following reference to Malik Gopi. 'Hitherto', he says, 'a heathen named Milocoixim (Millagopin) held sway and governed here, whom the King of Cambay ordered to be slain on account of the evil reports he received of him. This man was a great friend of the Portuguese.'² The famous historian João de Barros, 'the Livy of Portugal', also refers to Gopi in his well known work *Decades da Asia*.³ As the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle, who visited Gujarat in 1623, is the only writer who has specially pointed out this reference in Barros, it would be best to quote his very accurate remarks in full :

'This pool of Surat is called Gopi Talav, that is, the Pool of Gopi, which was his name who made it at his own charge. 'Tis

^{Della Valle's} not improbable that this Gopi, who made this ^{reference to the} Piscina of Surat, is the same whom Giovanni di Barros, in his Second Decade of Asia, frequently mentions with the title of Malik, and relates to have been in those times, a little above a hundred years ago, a great friend to the Postugals; styling him often Lord of Barocci (Brauch), and once in the last book, Lord of Surat; but I rather believe that he was only Governor of either of these cities, under the then Mahometan Kings of Cambayia (as he speaks), that is, of Guzarat. ... 'Tis, therefore, possible that Malik Gopi, mentioned by Barros, made this Cistern when he was Governor of Surat, it being the work, and expense, of such a person.'⁴

1. J. Ogilby: *Asia*, London, fol. 1673, p. 211.

2. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. and ed. by M. L. Dames, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I., 149-150.

3. João de Barros, *Decades Da Asia*, Dec II, Lib. IV, c. 6; Lib. VI, c. 2; Lib X, c. 1.

4. *Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, Ed. by Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I., 34-35.

But perhaps the most important contemporary Portuguese references to Malik Gopi are contained in the *Commentaries of the Great*

Reference to *Afonso D'Albuquerque*, the Governor and Captain-General of India from 1509 to 1516. We gather that Malik Gopi in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque* in 1512 the Governor sent Tristão Dégá from

Albuquerque. Goa to the Sultan of Gujarat, with presents, to demand leave to build a fortress at Div, then in charge of the great admiral Maiik Ayaz. The next year, in August 1513, when Albuquerque reached Chaul on his way back from Aden, he met there Tristão Dégá who had landed at the place only two days before. The latter recounted that he had been well received but that the Sultan had answered very coldly in the matter of Div, though he had offered other places on the coast where the Portuguese might build a fort and effect a settlement. The ambassador also gave the Governor a letter from 'Melecopi' (Malik Gopi), 'one of the principal Moors of the kingdom,' manifesting a desire to serve the King of Portugal. It appears that Tristão Dégá had gone as far as Champaner were he had the above interview with the Sultan on the latter's return from a war against Mandu. It was in the same city that Malik Gopi gave him the letter mentioned above. The ambassador also learned from Malik Gopi that Malik Ayaz was the principal instigator of the royal refusal. Albuquerque, we are told, replied to Melecopi (Malik Gopi) 'giving him many thanks for the care he had taken in the affairs of the king, his lord, and leading him to indulge in hope of a great reward for his services.'¹

The possession of a fortified settlement at Div on the Gujarat coast was, however, one principal object of the policy of the great Albuquerque in the East. Early in 1514, therefore, he sent

Albuquerque sends a second embassy to Gujarat, 1514. another embassy, on a far more magnificent scale, under Diogo Fernandez de Beja and James Teixeira to discuss the matter further with the Sultan of

Gujarat. Among the very costly presents which the ambassadors carried for the King were a collar of gold enamelled, several yards of black velvet, brocades from Persia and China, etc. In order further to improve the prestige of the embassy, the Captain-General of Goa sent as a present twenty horses well-harnessed as also silver vessels for the royal table, while a posse of native peons attended the ambassadors. While setting forth on their voyage the envoys sent a Portuguese named Pero Queimado and a Hindu called Ganpatim, who knew the language of the province, to go in advance and secure a safe-conduct from the 'King of Cambay', this being the name under which the rulers of Gujarat were called by the Portuguese and the Arabs during the 15th

¹ *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Albuquerque*, Second Viceroy of India, trans. by W. de Gray Birch, Hakluyt Society, Vol. III, 245; Vol. IV, 60-61.

and 16th centuries. The story of this imposing embassy forms a most interesting chapter in the history of Gujarat, but we shall describe its activities only so far as the Portuguese records, contained in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque*, help to shed some light on the career of Malik Gopi.¹

The two ambassadors Diogo Fernandez and James Teixeira found the weather so adverse that they did not reach Surat till 15th March,

1514. As the men whom they had sent in advance

^{had not returned to this port from Champaner where}
The ambassadors reach Surat, 15 March, 1514. ^{they had gone, the envoys asked Dastur Khan, the}
^{governor of the city, for permission to embark. He}
sent a safe-conduct readily, having received orders from the King to welcome them with honour. Two Captains, one of whom was Meababu, brother of Malik Gopi, in whose house they were to be lodged at Surat, were instructed to meet them and to provide them with relays of riding horses and waggons for their baggage. After paying a formal visit to the governor at his house, for he was in bed with illness, and accepting the dresses of honour which he offered, the two ambassadors took up their quarters in the house of Malik Gopi's brother, which had been proposed for their residence.²

After a stay of three or four days at Surat, Dastur Khan sent word to them that he had received a letter from the King ordering him to send the ambassadors to his court after supplying

Malik Gopi, 'out of favour with the King,' them everything necessary for the journey. But at this juncture Pero Quinlano arrived bringing with him news that 'Milecopi (Malik Gopi) was out of the court and out of favour with the king.' Upon this the ambassadors, who had been specially instructed by Albuquerque to do nothing without consulting this friendly nobleman, desired to return to Goa giving various excuses to the governor about this sudden change of plans. But Dastur Khan pointed out to them through Meababu that they would be lacking in courtesy to the King if they returned when their safe-conduct had been secured and everything was ready for their journey. It was, he said, necessary to his own safety that he should first acquaint the king with this alteration in their intentions. The firm attitude taken up by the governor made it clear to the ambassadors that they could not act otherwise than as he wished them

The embassy arrives at Champaner, April 4, 1514. to do, and they sent word that they would comply with his desires. On March 28, therefore, they set out from Surat being escorted by one Meacanadin, with thirty peon archers, who went along to arrange for their halting places. The embassy reached Champaner on April 4

1. *Commentaries of the Great D'Albuquerque*, op. cit. IV, 77, 93-94.

2. Ibid, 95.

and took up their quarters in a vegetable garden close to the town where they clothed themselves in their best to go and see Malik Gopi who was at that time in this city.¹

When Malik Gopi learnt about the arrival of the Portuguese ambassadors he sent one of his sons, in charge of a large body of horse and foot and a great number of trumpeters, to receive them. And so they passed the night being richly entertained and nobly banqueted by him. Diogo

Gopi explains the hostility of Malik Ayaz.

Fernandez de Beja now delivered to Malik Gopi a letter which he had brought with him from Afonso Albuquerque along with a present and related the object of his mission. Malik Gopi informed him that, after the departure of the former envoy Tristao Dega, Malik Ayaz had gone personally to the king and had advised him repeatedly not to grant permission for a fortress at Div to the Firingis, pointing out that should they erect one there, it would be with the object of eventually wresting his kingdom from him. As the result of this advice, the Sultan had so strongly fortified the Island of Div that there was little fear of any power on earth being able to prevail against it. After several long conversations between Malik Gopi and the envoys, in which he gave them full advice as to how they should

conduct themselves and the line of action they should adopt, the latter took leave of him and set out on their way to 'Madoval' (Ahmadabad) where the king

then was. Malik Gopi sent with them one of the principal men in his household, with six horsemen in his train, as company, and advised them on no account to lodge anywhere except at the place which this man of his should indicate to them.²

This is not the place to relate in any detail the important events connected with the visit of the Portuguese ambassadors at Ahmadabad

The ambassadors at Ahmadabad were given a fitting reception by 'Codamacao' (Khudawand Khan) who was the chief minister of

the Sultan. The next day the ambassadors were taken in great state to the royal palace where the king (Muzaffar II) gave them an audience, and Diogo Fernandez presented him the letter, written in Arabic, which had been sent by Afonso Albuquerque. After this, for several days, there were long discussions between the minister and the envoys about their reciprocal demands and the advantages that either power could confer on the other by a treaty of alliance. Khudawand Khan at last delivered to the Portuguese envoys the decision dictated by the king in which the latter declared that he would be happy to grant to the Captain-General of India a site for a fortress at any of the following places, viz., Broach, Surat, Mahim,

1. Ibid, 96-97.

2. Ibid, 98.

Dumas, or Bacar (? Bulsar). But Diogo Fernandez replied that he carried no instructions from Albuquerque enabling him to accept any other site than at Div. After some further discussions, Khudawand Khan sent word to the ambassadors that they were to go and take leave of the Sultan as the despatch which they were to carry back had been drawn up. This was done, and along with the letter the king sent a present of Gujarat goods, as well as 'an animal called *genda*',¹ which was then at Champaner and was to be handed over to them when they arrived at Surat. The horses and waggons being now provided, the envoys left Ahmadabad and reached Surat on the 8th May 1514².

When the Portuguese ambassadors arrived at Suart, they found that the weather at sea had become boisterous, so that they could not venture on the voyage to Goa. It was decided,

They spend the rainy season at Surat. They therefore, to spend the rainy season in this city in spite of very strict written instructions given to them by Albuquerque on no account 'to winter in Cambay'.

When the monsoon was well nigh over, the envoys secured from Dastur Khan three vessels for their transport and they embarked for Goa taking with them all their baggage as well as the 'creature' called the *Genda* or rhinoceros which had by this time reached Surat. The party reached Goa on 15th September 1514, when they found the Captain-General of India in a great state of alarm as he had received no news of them for a long time. Diogo Fernandez and James Teixeira related to him all the details of their mission, pointing out that the King of Gujarat would not grant them a fortress at Div, because Malik Ayaz was against it and carried out his intrigues by means of 'corrupt bribes', which he was constantly giving to Bilirrane (Bibi Rani) the king's chief wife who ruled him.³

The *Commentaries of the Great Albuquerque* supply us here with some very interesting information about the kingdom of Gujarat. We are told that the king who was on the

Reference to Muzaffar II and his kingdom. the throne (Muzaffar II) when Diogo Fernandez reached the court was a man of forty years of age, a statement which agrees with the date of his birth as given

1. The historian Joso de Barros (1553) refers in his work to this incident as follows:—'And in return for many rich presents which this Diogo Fernandez carried to the King [of Gujarat], and besides others which the king sent to Afonso Albuquerque, there was an animal, the biggest which nature has created after the elephant, and the great enemy of the latter ... which the natives of the land of Cambaya, whence this one came, call *Genda*, and the Greeks and Latins Rhinoceros. And Afonso D'Albuquerque sent this to the king Don Manuel, and it came to this kingdom, and it was afterwards lost on its way to Rome, when the king sent it as a present to the Pope' (Barros, Dec. II, Liv. X., cap. I).

2. *Commentaries of the Great Albuquerque*; op. cit., IV, 98-105.

3. *Ibid.*, 106.

by the Persian historians. He was married to a Rajput, 'a woman of great worth and estimation called Biliriane,' and besides her he had five hundred others. He was fond of falcon-hunting and when he went to the chase he was always accompanied by three hundred huntsmen on horses. He spent most of his time in the city of 'Madoval' (Ahmadabad) because it was near to the mountain ranges of the Rajputs with whom he was constantly at war. This city was a 'league in length, very luxuriant, with many entertaining sights and palatial houses.' But all the royal treasure, artillery, and munitions of war were kept in the city of Champaner, because of its great strength and 'where they had a fortress on a mountain (Pavagadh) in which were stationed certain nobles in whom the king reposed the greatest confidence and who were always on guard with a large standing force of cavalry.'¹

No further reference to Malik Gopi, after his consultation with and his advice to the Portuguese ambassadors in April 1514, is available to us either in the *Commentaries* of the

Date of Malik Gopi's death, c. 1515. famous Albuquerque or in the history of João de Barros. We may presume, therefore, that the fact

specifically stated in the history of the embassy, viz., that Gopi was 'out of favour at court', was soon followed by the events leading to his execution by the order of Muzaffar Shah II as described in detail by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, as already mentioned. It is also possible that he was put to death some time early in 1515, for when Duarte Barbosa visited the towns of Gujarat in this year, he makes, with reference to port of Surat, the circumstantial statement that 'hitherto a heathen named Milecoxim (Malik Gopi) held sway and governed here, whom the king of Cambay ordered to be slain on account of the evil reports he received of him.' If, further, as the Persian historian has stated, Gopi's wealth and property were delivered over by the Sultan's orders to plunder, it helps to confirm the statements made in Della Valle's *Travels* and in John Ogilby's *Asia* that his daughter was reduced at Surat to a position of great poverty and misery.

Malik Gopi's name stands out in bold relief as that of a Hindu citizen of Gujarat who rose not only to great wealth but also to

Remarks on his career. a commanding political position as a nobleman and minister during the long rule of the Gujarat Sultans.

Though he was befriended by Malik Sarang, (Kiwam-ul-Mulk) during the rule of Muzaffar II, it is probable that the fact of a Brahman enjoying such extensive power and wealth, and making such an ostentatious display of the same in luxurious entertainments,

1. Ibid, 105-6.

may have roused the jealousy of the ruling nationality in the capital city of Gujarat and led to his downfall. It is also clear that, in combination with Malik Sarang, Gopi used his power to oppress the people, for the Persian historian says that the entire administration of the capital was in their hands and they did what they pleased regardless of the orders of the Sultan until not even the naturally mild and clement disposition of Muzaffar II could tolerate Gopi's tyranny over his Muslim subjects.¹

The information about Gopi available to us from the formal histories and books on travel may be supplemented by the historical traditions about him current in Surat more than half

Historical traditions at Surat about Malik Gopi. a century ago which have been put into writing in the local histories of this city in Urdu and Gujarati. We

gather from these that Surat was a place of little consequence upto the fifteenth century, and that the establishment of its prosperity as a modern city dates from the time of Malik Gopi and the end of that century. His name is given as Gopinath or Gopinai, and, though his caste is disputed, some accounts making him out to be a Nūgar Brahman, others an Anavala Brahman. He developed into a rich Hindu trader and his success in business attracted many merchants to Surat from surrounding places, especially from Rander. He founded one of the suburbs of the town called in his honour Gopipura, and enlarged a pond lining it with stone and making it the chief ornament of the city. As a reward for the flourishing condition to which he had brought Surat, the Sultan of Gujarat, Muzaffar II, honoured Gopi with the title of Malik; and his wife, known as the Rani, founded a second ward, the Ranichakla, and built a reservoir known as the Rani Talav.²

The traditions mentioned above appear to have considerable historical basis. But we are unable to accept those that follow.

Origin of the name Surat. We are told that so far Gopi's town had no name, and that, consulting the astrologer, he fixed on the name Suraj, or Suryapur, i.e., the city of the Sun.

He, therefore, sent a request to Sultan Muzaffar II of Gujarat for leave to have the town called by this name. The Sultan, however, did not altogether like the idea of a new town in his realm bearing a purely Hindu name; so, changing just the final letter of the word Suraj, he decreed that the city should be called Surat, a term surely free from all objection, since it was identical with the word employed in Arabic to designate each chapter of the holy Quran. The story is

1. Faizullah, *Mu'af-i-Suhandivi*, 131-33.

2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, *Surat and Broach*, 70-71 and n; *The Narngada, or the Prose Works of Kavi Narmadashankar*, Ed., by R. S. Mahipatram R. Nilkanth (in Gujarati), Bombay, 1883, pp. 277-79.

fantastic and without any historical justification, for we find Surat mentioned, generally along with Rander, already in the first half of the 15th century, or perhaps even earlier.¹ The detailed reference by Barbosa to the commercial prosperity of the city in the year 1514-15,² renders inevitable the conclusion that the importance of Surat dates back considerably before the days of the merchant-prince and minister Gopl.



1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Shandari*, p. 11. The earliest reference to Surat in the *Arabic History of Gujarat* is of the year H. 860 (A. D. 1456) during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah II.

2. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Ed. by M. L. Dames, Hakluyt Society, Vol. I, 149.

CHAPTER III.

THEVENOT'S TOUR THROUGH THE CITIES OF GUJARAT FROM SURAT TO AHMADABAD.

After a stay of some twenty days at Surat, Thevenot started on Feb. 1, 1666, for the journey northward to Ahmadabad, going out of the city by the Broach gate. We shall briefly

From Surat to Broach. give an account of this journey partly because it

Illustrates the direction of the trade-routes in Gujarat at this period and also because of some interesting descriptions which the traveller gives about the places and people on the way. Two hours after leaving Surat he crossed the Tapki in a boat which, though big enough, was ' very incommodious for taking in of chariots, because the sides of it were two feet high. Eight men were forced to carry mine after they had taken out the oxen, and I was about half an hour in crossing the river.'¹ The journey was continued past the town of Variav to the river Kim, thence to Ankleswar, and then crossing the Narbada to Broach.²

The fortress of Broach, says Thevenot, is large and square, standing on a hill, for which reason it is visible from a great distance.

Account of Broach : its walls and its trade. The stone-walls surrounding the town were flanked by large round towers or bastions about thirty paces from each other. The bazar or market place was in

a great street at the foot of the hill. In this town were made the *buffles* or 'cotton-stuffs' which were sold in large numbers in the Indies. The water of the Narbada was considered excellent for bleaching cloth which was brought from all parts to be whitened there.³ The fortifications on the land side were neglected, for Thevenot mentions several great breaches in the walls on the land side. The Dutch kept a factor in this town for looking after the

1. *Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Indies*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1686, p. 6.

2. In spite of the outlandish spellings, it is not very difficult to identify the place-names mentioned by Thevenot which are as follows:—Berino (Variav); Oucilier (Ankleswar); the Nardaba (Narbada); Baroche (Broach); Sourtan (Sarban); the Dader (Dhadhar); Pebca (Dabca); Peind (Peiad); the Mai (Mahi); Souseutra (Sojitra); Mader (Mamar); Bareja (Bareja); Ahmedabad (Ahmadabad).

3. The famous French jeweller and traveller J. B. Tavernier also refers to this fact: 'the river Narbada possesses a peculiar property for bleaching calicoes, and they bring them for this reason from all quarters of the empire of the Great Mogul.' (*Tavernier's Travels in India*, Ed. by Bell, Vol I, 66.)

clearing and quick despatch of their goods at the customs-house since all goods had to pay duty.¹

Leaving Broach, Thevenot continued his journey to the north passing the little town of Sarbhan, after which, having crossed the

The savages of Dhadhar² river and several other villages, he arrived Dabka on the at a place called Dabka³ which lay on the side of a Mahi. wood. It may be identified with the well-known village on the Mahi river now situated in the Baroda State. The author gives a rather unusual account of the man-eating inhabitants of Dabka which we quote below :

'The inhabitants of this town were formerly such as are called Merdiscoura⁴ or Anthropophagi, man-eaters, and it is not very many years since man's flesh was there publicly sold in the 'Masi-Cours.' markets. That place seems to be a nest of robbers ; the inhabitants, who are for the most part armed with swords, are a most impudent sort of people. Passengers that know them are always upon their guard, nay, and are obliged to carry a lance with them when they go to do their needs.'⁵

From Dabka our author crossed the Mahi river and proceeded to Petlad, and thence to Sojitra where he saw a fine stepwell, and

From the Mahi further on to Matar, until he arrived at Jitbag to Jitbag near (now Jetalpur), two and a half leagues from Ahmad-Ahmadabad. abad. He met on this road a great many Kolis who, he says, moved about from village to village and whose chief business was to pick and clean the cotton. The famous garden and buildings at Jitbag are briefly described by Thevenot. He says that it was a 'pretty handsome' garden by the side of a reservoir and that he walked in it and found a great many monkeys and peacocks there. The

1. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., p. 7.

2. The Dhadhar is a small river in the north of the Broach District. It passes between the sub-divisions of Amod and Jambusar and falls into the gulf of Cambay some twenty miles south of the estuary of the Mahi. About seven miles from its mouth the Dhadhar joins the creek on the eastern bank of which is situated the port of Tankari.

3. Dabka is a large village, in the Padra subdivision of the Baroda State, situated on the left bank of the Mahi river eighteen miles distant from the capital. 'A delightful ride over a soft sandy road shaded by the tamarind, the mango, the mhowra and many a graceful tree leads from Baroda to Dabka through a park-like country. The country in the neighbourhood of the village is very picturesque with the hills and the deep ravines descending to the low bed of the great river Mahi.' The hunting expeditions of the Gaikwads of Baroda, on account of the deer and boar preserves in the neighbourhood, have given to Dabka a special importance. (Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, Baroda, 542-4.)

4. This is a corrupted form of the Persian *mardus khur* which means a cannibal (lit., man-eater).

5. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., 7.

dwelling house in it was running into ruins and the royal house not far off was in very bad repair also.¹

The *Jitbag*, or garden of victory, mentioned above by Thevenot, deserves some remarks for it was visited by many other travellers,

History of the *Jitbag* being on the direct line of the trade-route between near Ah- Cambay and Ahmadabad. It is now absorbed in madabad.

the village lands of Jetalpur, some five miles to the south of the Jamnapur gate of the city of Ahmadabad. In 1623, during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir, this place was the site of a famous battle in the civil war between the Emperor's forces and the army of his rebellious son Prince Shah Jahan. The former were commanded by Saif Khan, one of the royal officers in charge of Gujarat, while the troops of the Prince were led by his able general Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang. In the battle of Jetalpur the Prince's forces were defeated (June 10, 1623), and Abdullah Khan fled by way of Baroda, Broach and Surat to join the Prince who was at Burhanpur. The Emperor, to show his appreciation of Saif Khan's services exalted him with the title of Nawab Saif Khan Jahangir Shahi. It was to commemorate this signal victory that Saif Khan laid out a garden in the village of Jetalpur and called it *Jitbag*, or 'the garden of victory.'² Tavernier also makes the following reference to the place: 'It is one of the most beautiful houses of the Great Mogul and a vast enclosure where there are extensive gardens and all the embellishments of which the genius of the Indians is capable.'³ We must be careful to distinguish this *Jitbag* from the *Fatch Bag* near Sarkhej, sometimes miscalled *Jitbag*, on the opposite bank of the Sabarmati, which was constructed in 1583-84 by the famous Abdurrahim Khan, the Khan Khuman, during the reign of Akbar after his great victory at this place over the ex-Sultan Muzaffar III of Gujarat.

Thevenot's next halt was at Ahmadabad, the capital city of Gujarat and the headquarters of the provincial viceroy. Some of his

Arrival at opening comments upon this city are conjectural or Ahmedabad. based on misinformation, as, for example, when he says that the city is mentioned by Arrian or that it was named *Gardabed* (abode of dust) by Shah Jahan. But his statements that the ruling Mughal often entrusted its government to one of his sons, and that at this time a great *amir* or noble named Mahabat Khan was governor, are quite true to facts. On arrival at the city he went to lodge at the caravanserai, which was probably the noble pile erected

1. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., 7-8.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, or The Memoirs of Jahangir, trans. by Rogers and Beveridge, II; *Suppl. to the Muraqabat-i-Hawaizzi*, trans. by Nasub Ali and Seddon, 22.

3. Tavernier's *Travels in India*, trans. Ball, Vol. I, 71.

in 1637 by the great viceroy Azam Khan. After some repose, Thevenot went to call on the Dutch factors for whom he had brought letters from their chief at Surat. They had their lodge or factory¹ 'in the fairest and longest street of the town' and they received him very kindly insisting that he should stay with them and they kept him company during his visits to the chief places of interest in and around the capital.²

The name of *Gardabād*, or the city of dust, was given to Ahmadabad not by Shah Jahan but by Jahangir during his enforced stay in the capital of Gujarat during the hot summer months of 1618 in the course of his prolonged tour in this province. Jahangir usually spent the summer in the cool valley of Kashmir and it is no wonder that he found the intense heat and dust of

these months at Ahmadabad extremely annoying. Hence his epithets of disgust. 'I have,' he says, 'already called Ahmadabad Gardabād (the abode of dust), now, I do not know whether to call it Samumistan (the place of the Simoom), or Bimaristan (abode of sickness), or Zaqum-zār (the thorn-bed), or Jahannamabad (the house of Hell), for it contains all these varieties.'³

Thevenot considered the streets of Ahmadabad wide, and especially the main thoroughfare, which was thirty paces broad, and at the west end of which were 'three large arches' (the triple gateway) which took up its whole breadth. His account of the Maidan Shah, or Royal Square, which extended from the Bhadra citadel to the Three Gates, is particularly interesting:

'Going from their (Dutch) lodgings, one enters by these high arches into the Maidan Shah, which signifies the King's Square. It is a long square having four hundred paces in breadth, and seven hundred in length, with trees planted on all sides. The gate of the Castle is on the west side opposite to the three arches, and the gate of the Quervanseray on the south. On the same side are six or seven pieces of cannon mounted, and, on the other, some

1. The Dutch factory at Ahmadabad was situated on the main road of the city not far from the Triple Gateway. The building, a large and imposing structure, was long used to locate the local branch, Bombay Bank, and is to-day occupied by the Victor Cinema. Not far from it was the English factory, but neither the building nor its site can be identified. It must have been a very spacious structure and has been described by Mandelslo and other travellers. (Bombay Gazetteer, IV, Ahmadabad, 272-3; Commissariat, M.S., *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, 21.)

2. *Travels of M. de Thevenot*, op. cit., 9-10.

3. 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangir,' or, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, trans. and ed. by Rogers and Beveridge, II, 13.

more gates which are at the head of pretty fair streets. In this maidan there are several little square buildings, about three fathom high, which are tribunals for the Kotwal who is the criminal judge. In the middle of the place there is a very high tree purposely planted for the exercise of those who learn to shoot with the bow, and who with their arrows strive to hit a ball which for that end is placed on the top of the tree.¹

The caravansarai mentioned above by Thevenot is the imposing building, adjoining the eastern gate of the Bhadra at Ahmedabad, which

Azam Khan's caravansarai at Ahmedabad built in 1637. was built in 1637 by Azam Khan, the great viceroy of Gujarat under Shah Jahan, who governed the province from 1636-42, and who also built the forts of

Ranpur near Dhandhuka and of Kali near Ahmedabad to prevent the incursions of the Kathis and the Kolis. The caravansarai has long been wrongly known as Azam Khan's palace. The building has been put to various uses during the last one hundred years, being at one time the principal gaol of the city before the construction of the Sabarmati Central Prison, and subsequently the head post office of the city until the latter was removed to a new building in 1932.

Thevenot next proceeded to the Castle (i. e. the Bhadra) 'by a very high gate which is betwixt two large towers.' The Castle, he

The Bhadra fortress and the royal palace. says, was walled about with freestones and was as spacious as a little town. He also refers to the royal palace² rear the Maidan with its usual balcony for the musicians (*muzikhana*) who played their pipes, trumpets and hautboys,³ morning, noon, and evening, and at midnight. The royal apartments contained 'several ornaments of foliages where gold is not spared.' As for the English factory in the city we are told that it was in the middle of the town and was 'well lodged with fair courts.'

The Bhadra citadel, referred to by our traveller, is the name by which the extensive walled enclosure within the city-walls of Ahmedabad to the west has been called for the past five hundred years. It

1. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., p. 9.

Cf. An account of the Maidan Shah, or Royal Square, of Ahmedabad by another traveller, J. Albert de Mandelot, who visited the city in 1638, some 28 years before Thevenot. (Commissariat, M. S., *Afendil's Travels in Western India*, Oxford, 1931, p. 22.)

2. All traces of the royal palace at Ahmedabad, where the Sultans and later the Mughal viceroys of the province resided, have now disappeared. There is little doubt that it was situated within the Bhadra enclosure by the side of the river.

3. Hautboy or hoboy (now Oboe) is a high-pitched wooden wind instrument in music.

was built by Sultan Ahmad I. after the founding of the city and formed the royal headquarters, containing the palace, the two towers, the private masjid in the s. w. corner, and the military equipment. The citadel was so named after the Bhadra at the old city of Patan in North Gujarat which was the Hindu capital of the province

History of the Bhadra citadel at Ahmedabad. for centuries and the headquarters of the Muslim governors of the Khalji and Tughlaq Emperors before the building of Ahmedabad in 1411. The citadel at Patan was dedicated to Bhadra Kali, the goddess Kali in her auspicious form.¹ The citadel at Ahmedabad was square in form, enclosing an area of about forty-three acres and containing about eight gates. To the west, along the river bank, it rested on the outer city-wall, and on the remaining three sides it was surrounded by high brick walls. The principal gateway to this royal enclosure was on the east just in front of the two towers.² Till about fifteen years ago, the Bhadra walls were kept in good repair; but, during recent years, they have been demolished in part for utilitarian purposes, e. g. opposite the Reform Club and near the District Court.

Mandelslo's account of his stay at Ahmedabad in 1638 is of special importance to the historian for the light it throws on the commercial greatness of the city and the social life of the provincial governor with whom this German traveller had two famous interviews.³ The long account

Mandelslo's account compared with Thévenot's. of the capital of Gujarat by Thévenot is valuable for a different reason, viz. the fullness and accuracy of his description of the principal monuments of the city and its suburbs during the seventeenth century, which is not available to us from any other sources. During his short stay at Ahmedabad he visited practically all the places of interest; and, with slight errors which are inevitable in a foreigner imperfectly acquainted with the past history of these monuments, his descriptions are wonderfully accurate and graphic.

We do not propose to give here the details supplied by Thévenot about several of these monuments, as these will be found in several chapters of the author's forthcoming History of

Descriptions of the monuments at Ahmedabad. Gujarat. He has much that is new and interesting to say about the great temple of Shantidas and how it was desecrated by Prince Aurangzeb and converted into a mosque. He also gives an interesting account of his visit to the Shahi Bag with its lovely and well laid out gardens, and symmetrical

1. Supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmed*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, p. 6.

2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, Ahmedabad, p. 275.

3. A full account of his stay at Ahmedabad will be found in Commissariat M. S., *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India*, Oxford, 1931, Chapters III and IV, pp. 21-40.

walks before they began to fall into neglect and desolation. Among other monuments described by him in detail are the Jam'i Masjid, the Rauzas and mosque at Shahi Alam with their appurtenances, the Tomb of Darya Khan on the road to the Shahi Bagh, the buildings at Sarkhej, and the beautiful step-well built by Bai Harir at Asarva.¹

Our French traveller mentions the existence of the unusual institution of an hospital for birds at Ahmedabad in which the Hindus

Hospitals for birds and beasts: kept all the sick birds that they could find. There was another hospital for beasts, and Thevenot saw tame panthers.

there several oxen, camels, horses and other wounded animals 'which were purchased from the Muslims and the Christians in order to save them from cruelties and these were well fed and looked after'. If they were incurable they remained in the hospital; but if they recovered they were sold only to Gentiles (Hindus) and to none else. Another fact noticed by our author was the capture in the neighbouring forests, of panthers which were afterwards trained, by the orders of the Governor for hunting so that he might present these to the King. The Governor would not permit any one but himself to buy these animals and the trainers used to keep them in the Maidan Shah where they were petted and made familiar with human beings.²

The *piyajrapo*, or hospital (asylum) for animals and birds, though a very ancient institution in India, is specially prominent in

Ovington's account of an hospital for birds and fowls, etc. the larger cities of Gujarat, such as Ahmedabad, Surat, Cambay etc., because of the considerable Jain population in this province which is specially attached to the doctrine of *ahimsa* and the sanctity of all animal life. J. Ovington, who was at Surat as Chaplain to the English factory in 1690, informs us that the Banyas of the town not only maintained old or diseased animals such as horses, cows, goats and dogs, but extended their tender sympathy to the vermin as well. His account, given in his *Voyage to Surat*, is as hair-raising as it is accurate:

'Near this hospital (for beasts) is another built for the preservation of bugs, lice, and other vermin, which suck the blood of

1. This famous 'wad' or step-well at Asarva, outside the walls of Ahmedabad, (which ranks in beauty of ornamentation next to that at the village of Adishaji, about twelve miles north of the city,) was built, as inscriptions show, in 1499-1500 by Bai Shri Harir Suktami, the Lady Superintendent of the harem of Sultan Mahmud I. Begada. She also built the mosque adjoining the well and founded a suburb called Harirpur in the vicinity. In popular language the step-well is known, quite wrongly, as Dada Hari's, both the words 'Bai' and 'Hari' having been corrupted into this misleading combination. (See Jas. Burgess, *Archaeological Architecture of Ahmedabad*, Part II, pp. 46.)

2. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., p. 11.

men; and, therefore, to maintain these with that choice diet to which they are used, and to feed them with their proper fare, a poor man is hired now and then to rest all night upon the cot or bed where the vermin are put, and fastened upon it, lest the stinging of them might force him to take his flight before the morning; and so they nourish themselves by sucking his blood and feeding on his carcass.¹

The Banyas of Surat were, to use the words of Dr. John Fryer, 'more merciful to beasts than men! '²

The principal commodities bought and sold at Ahmadabad were satins, velvets, taffetas, and tapestries with gold, silk and woollen grounds. The exports consisted of large quantities

Articles of trade at Ahmadabad. of indigo, dried and preserved ginger, sugar, cumin, lac, myrrabolams, tamarind, opium, saltpetre and honey.

The Dutch at Ahmadabad traded chiefly in chintz or painted cloths, though these were not so fine as those of Masulipatam and St. Thomas on the East Coast.³ Having done with the sights of Ahmadabad, Thevenot took leave of his hosts, the Dutch factors, who secured for him the help of an officer of the Kotwal to see him safely out at the gates. On the 16th February 1666, our traveller departed for Cambay, and, after visiting Bareja, took the same route by which he had come. On reaching Sojitra⁴ he turned to the right in the direction of Cambay, which town, he says, was two days' easy journey from the capital.

Cambay town is described as being of the size of Surat but not nearly so populous. It was surrounded by brick walls and its streets

Cambay described. were large, all of them terminating at the gates which were closed at night-time. The shops were stocked with aromatic perfumes and spices as also silk and other stuffs. Ivory bracelets, as well as cups, chaplets and rings of agate, were made in vast quantities in the town. These agates were obtained from the quarries at a village called Limodra. The Castle where the governor lived was large 'but not at all handsome.' The suburbs were adorned with a large number of fine public gardens, and they were almost as extensive as the town and indigo was made there. The sea was about a mile and a half away from the town, though

1. J. Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, Ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, Oxford, 1929, pp. 177-78.

2. J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Ed. by W. Crooke, (Hakluyt Society), Vol. I, 138.

3. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., 12.

4. Sojitra is a town in the Petlad Taluka, of the Baroda State.

formerly it came up to it. This fact had reduced the trade of the place as large ships could not come nearer than six or eight *kos* from it. The tides in the Gulf were so swift that a man on horseback at full speed could not keep pace with the first waves.¹

Thevenot says that before leaving Cambay for Surat he consulted his friends about the various routes by sea and land. That by

Sea and land sea was the shortest and one could reach Surat in routes from Cambay to Surat. twenty-four hours in an *almadie*,² which is described

as 'a kind of brigantine used by the Portuguese for trading along that coast.' But these little vessels went generally at night-time for fear of the Malabar pirates who always lay in wait for them to surprise them. Besides, many of these almadies were often lost in the gulf of Cambay owing to the high tides. There was also another way to proceed to Surat, viz., to cross the gulf at low water in a 'chariot' or carriage to the opposite coast.³ This, however, meant a journey of about six *kos* in water which was there about two or three feet deep. Our traveller was told that the waves sometimes dashed against the chariot so roughly that it required a great many hands to keep it steady, and some mishance always happened. This decided Thevenot against taking the sea-route and he preferred to make the usual journey by land in spite of the danger from robbers of which he was assured.⁴

Thevenot was now advised by his friends to protect himself against the robbers who infested the journey overland to Surat by

Thevenot's account of the tribe Chāraṇ,⁵ along with a woman of the same caste, who would serve him for two rupees a day until he was out of the danger zone. The Frenchman, however, declined to do so, 'looking upon it to be too low a kind of protection.'

1. Travels of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., p. 13.

2. Almadia, or Almadie, is a word introduced into Portuguese from the Moorish-Arabic *al madja*, a raft. It is generally used by writers on India for a canoe or a small native boat (Hobson-Jobson).

3. On the coast opposite to Cambay, on the left bank of the Mahi river, stands the small town of Kavi, in the Jambusar sub-division of the Broach district. The buildings of Kavi may be seen from Cambay town on any day when the weather is clear. Kavi is a place of Jain pilgrimage.

4. Thavenot's *Travels*, op. cit., p. 12.

5. A very elaborate account of the history and pursuits of the Charan community, and of the sacrosanct character enjoyed by its members in Gujarat in past centuries, is given in an Appendix at the close of this chapter. The Charans are mentioned by several of the European travellers in this province, but the short account of the Ehāts, who served as guides to Sidi Ali Rais, (the famous Turkish admiral and author who was stranded on the Gujarat coast in 1584), is of particular value as coming from the pen of a Muslim traveller of the 16th century (See *Travels and Adventures of Sidi Ali Rais*, trans. by Vambery, Luzac, 1899, pp. 34-36.)

In describing this once famous and still surviving fraternity, Thevenot says that they were highly esteemed 'among the idolaters' and that they lived for the most part at Broach, Cambay and Ahmadabad. A traveller who had a *Charan* with him thought himself safe, because the latter would inform any robbers they met to the effect that the person was under his charge and that if they did him any harm he (the *Charan*) would cut his own throat. At the same time, the woman with him would threaten them that she would likewise cut off one of her breasts with a razor which she would show them. Thevenot goes on to add :

'And all the heathen of those places look upon it to be a great misfortune to be the cause of the death of a *Charan* because ever after the guilty person is an eyesore to the whole tribe ; he is turned out of it and for his whole lifetime after upbraided with the death of that gentle. Heretofore, some *Charana*, both men and women, have killed themselves upon such occasions ; but that has not been for a long time, and at present, they say, they compound with the robbers for a certain sum which the traveller gives them, and that many times they divide it with them.'¹

At the passage of the Mahi river, Thevenot gave half a rupee as toll to the *garasias*, whose Raja or Chieftain, he says, controlled all the

A garan 'Robin Hood' on the for this impost, undertook to be responsible for the safety of the travellers within his territories. In fact,

this *garasia* 'Robin Hood' was so much of a gentleman that he was most particular about restoring to its owner any property taken by the bandits, and even went so far as to have it delivered to the complainant at his place if the latter had no time to wait for the result of his investigations. We are also told that this Chief received ten rupees per head from the caravans which went by his capital and in return treated the whole cavalcade gratis by providing it with cooks, provisions, etc., and even giving it the entertainment of women dancers. His horsemen accompanied the caravan for its security until it was out of his jurisdiction.²

On his return to Surat from this brief tour in Gujarat, Thevenot undertook a longer journey through the provinces of the Deccan to the

Thevenot's later journeys and his death in North Persia in 1667. south of India, proceeding as far as Masulipatam by way of Golkonda. His details of these countries are thus based on his personal observation, though the

Mughal provinces of Northern India which he gives in his *Travels* and the information about which is necessarily second-hand. After comple-

1. *Travels* of M. de Thevenot, op. cit., 13-14.

2. *Ibid.*, 14.

ting this tour to the south, Thevenot returned to Surat in the last days of the year 1666. Resting here for a time, he secured a passage for Bandar Abbas, and left the shores of India for Persia in February 1667, after a stay of about thirteen months in this country. Near Shiraz, in Persia, he was accidentally wounded in the thigh by a shot from one of his pistols. He spent the summer months at the great city of Isfahan, where his wound was treated and healed. Continuing his journey to the north, by way of the town of Qum, he took ill on the way and died at a small place called Miana about a hundred miles from Tabriz (Tauris) on the 28th November 1667, at the early age of 34 years.

We now take leave of the work of this accomplished traveller whose career was cut off when he was in the prime of life. We have already referred to his proficiency in various Oriental languages.

Thevenot's wide scholarship and his character. But this was not all, for he attained to great knowledge in natural philosophy, geometry, astronomy and mathematics, being specially familiar with the philosophy of Descartes. But with all this vast learning his zeal for religion was sincere, and his piety and the excellence of his conduct have been praised by all those who came in contact with him during his travels. His patience was such as no accident could disturb. His conversation was easy and unaffected and he always showed great reserve in discoursing on the subject of his journeys. But when he could be prevailed upon to speak on the subject, he did so in so natural and simple a manner as to leave the audience convinced of his veracity. His writings bear the impress of truth.¹

But while M. de Thevenot was proficient in all the natural sciences, he appears to have specially excelled in the study of Botany, for he left behind him at his death no less than five volumes

His attainments in Botany. of what in botanical language is called a *Hortus Siccus*, being a collection of the plants, leaves, flowers, and even pods of all the plants and trees which he met with in the Indies. Each specimen was neatly pasted and on the opposite side was its name in Portuguese, Persian, and several Indian languages, with an exact scientific description of the same, the place where it was found, when it flowered or bore fruit, and its qualities, if any were known. This unique collection appears to have long remained moulding at the bottom of a trunk and ultimately perished for lack of both time and resources at the command of the person to whose care it was entrusted by the departed traveller.²

1. M. de Thevenot's *Travels in the East*, trans. by A. Lovell, London, 1887, Preface.

2. Ibid.

It has been said that unlike Sir John Chardin, another Eastern traveller of the seventeenth century, Thevenot saw only the outside of Indian life. Though this is true, and though, partly because of his reserve and his early death, he never enjoyed the popularity granted to the 'chatty' Tavernier or the 'philosophic' Bernier, his *Travels* deserve to be more widely read and esteemed to-day because of their scientific accuracy and patient investigation of the truth which make them particularly valuable to the exact student of history.

APPENDIX, THE CHĀRANS OF GUJARAT.

The Chārāns, who are to be found all over Gujarat, Cutch, Kathiawar and Sind, form one of the most interesting tribes or castes in the Bombay Presidency, numbering, according to the census of 1901, 32,852 souls. We give below extracts from a very elaborate account of their past history, power and occupations in the volume of the Bombay Gazetteer dealing with the Gujarat Population :—

'The Chārāns are a community allied to the Bhāts or Bārots (Bards) and they are spread over Kathiawar, Cutch and North and Central Gujarat. Of the four divisions among the

The main divisions of the Gujarat Chārāns, viz., Gurjars, Kachhelas, Marus (in Gujarat Chārāns. Marwar) and Turners, the second section is the largest.

The Kachhelas are closely allied to the Kathis, who in Kathiawar are their chief patrons, and to the Ahirs whose dialect closely resembles their own. The Chārāns, both men and women, are a tall, good-looking, fair-skinned race. The men are like Rajputs, tall and well made. Chāran women are allowed much freedom, and, in former times, observed the practice of going in a body outside the village to meet and escort distinguished visitors. Several of the most popular goddesses of Northern Gujarat, e.g., Shri Bahucharaji in the Chunval and Kalika Mata at Pavagadh, are the spirits of Chāran women who sacrificed themselves to guard the privileges of their caste. Chārāns follow various callings: some are bards who maintain the genealogies of Kathis and Rajputs, recite their praises and the exploits of their forefathers; some hold large grants of lands; some are husbandmen, traders, etc. Most of them, especially among the Kachhelas, are graziers, cattle-sellers and pack-carriers, and they move about in groups of

Their various occupations.

about twenty during the eight fair weather months grazing and selling their stock of cows, buffaloes, bullocks, camels, etc.

'In former times, like Bhāts, they acted as guards to travellers and goods. No traveller could journey unattended by these guards,

The Charans as guides: their sacrosanct character.
who were willing for a small sum to conduct him in safety. These guards, called *valātās*, were never backward in inflicting the most grievous wounds upon and even causing the death of their old men and women

if the robbers persisted in plundering those under their protection; but this seldom happened as the wildest Koli, Kathi or Rajput held the person of a Charan sacred. Besides this, the Charans used to stand security to the amount of many lakhs of rupees. When rents and property were concerned, the Rajputs preferred a Charan's bond to that of the wealthiest banker, for the Charan can enforce the payment of a debt to himself or a claim for which he had become security by cutting or killing himself. The ordinary *tragā* or sacrifice went no further than a cut on the arm with the *katar* or crease. The Charans, both men and women, wounded themselves, committed suicide and murdered their relations with the most complete self-devotion. The guardian-stones or paliyas, which are scattered all over Kathiawar, show that Charans preferred death to dishonour and that even women did not hesitate to kill themselves when the honour of the family or tribe was concerned.

'Mr. Ovans, Survey Officer in Broach in 1820, gives the details of a *tragā* which took place in 1812 when a body of Maratha troops

A *tragā* or sacrifice by Charans in Broach district, 1812.
tried to impose a revenue payment on the village of Panchpipla in the Vagra sub-division of Broach. The Charans resisted the demand as contrary to their

occupations and principles, but finding the Marathas determined to carry their point, they at last cut the throats of ten young children and threw them at the feet of the invaders, exclaiming, 'These are our riches and the only payment we can make.' They were seized and confined in irons at Janabusir by the *Lārisi*.

'As with the Bhat and the Bishman, the source of the Charan's power lay in the wide-spread fear that a Charan's blood brought widespread

Why was a Charan's death or curse considered so dreadful?
run on him who caused the blood to be spilt. This was based on the belief that the ghost of a Charan was specially terrible. It was in this way that the

female Charan suicide Balachum became one of the most dreaded, and, therefore, one of the most popular goddesses in North Gujarat. Probably the main and original reason for the belief that the Charan was possessed was the reckless daring with

which, as the *paliyas* show, both men and women threw their lives away in defence of the cattle and villages entrusted to their charge. This respect for his ready self-sacrifice was the chief element in the honour paid to a Charan. Besides this inspired courage the Charan enjoyed the two great god-gifts of cursing and song. All three combined seemed sufficient proof of the Charan's right to the name of *devaputra* or sons of god. It was the belief that the Charan was possessed that gave special power to his curse or his blessing, and it was this that made the murder of a Charan the letting loose of the enraged unhoused spirit of a god or a goddess as well as of a man. As the worship of Bahuchara shows, the fear was greatest in the case of a suicide Charan.

'According to Sir John Malcolm, the Charan who accompanies travellers likely to be attacked by Rajput robbers, when he sees the

Sir J. Malcolm's account of the Charan guide's procedure. The blood from the wound throws it at the assailants

robbers approach, warns them off by holding a dagger in his hand, and, if they do not attend to him, he stabs himself in a place that is not mortal, and taking the blood from the wound throws it at the assailants with imprecations of future woes and ruin. If this has not the desired effect, the wounds are repeated; and in extreme cases one of the Charan's relations, commonly a female child or an old woman, is made a sacrifice (*Central India*, II, 134-35.) Further on (p. 137), Sir J. Malcolm says: 'I collected a number of well authenticated cases not only of individuals but of families; and in two instances I found that the Charan inhabitants of a village had sacrificed themselves. On one occasion there was a string of four people with one spear through their necks.'

'How did the rough cattle-guarding Charan become a court poet? The present difference in appearance between the ordinary Charan grazier and the Rajput chief's Charan bard and reciter is so great as to raise the question. The fact, however, is that among the courtly high-class reciters

The Charans as court bards: their present position. are families who belong to all the main divisions of village Charans—Gurjars, Kachhelas, Marus and Tumers. This proves that the court reciters are not a distinct class but are descended from Charans whose talents or good looks raised them to the favour of the local chiefs, and their present special appearance is due to their having for generations married almost entirely with Charan families who like themselves have long enjoyed the easy well nourished life of court bards and reciters. Though aided by their gifts of paralysing their chief's enemies with their curse, and of inspiring their chief's troops with their song, the Charans probably mainly owed their success to their unflinching readiness for martyrdom. Under British rule the need for securities has ceased

and with it the special respect and sacredness of the Charan have passed away. Railways have slain the pack-bullock and the spread of tillage has scrimped the grazing grounds. Of those who were carriers, some have settled as petty traders and money-lenders and others have taken to agriculture. Though their sacroganct character has gone, Charans still hold a high social position.' (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part I., Gujarat Population : Hindus, pp. 214-20).



STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF GUJARAT



*PART IV—GLIMPSES OF GUJARAT IN THE REIGN
OF AURANGZEB*

CHAPTER I.

AURANGZEB'S SOCIO-RELIGIOUS POLICY IN GUJARAT.

The history of Gujarat during the long reign of Aurangzeb, when for wellnigh fifty years this imperial province was administered by ten successive viceroys, some of them like Shujaat Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan and Maharaja Jasvant Singh being men of high capacity and dignity, is full of incidents, both domestic and foreign, of great interest and importance. For the purpose of these *Studies*, however, it is necessary to make a selection and to present a few characteristic snapshots. We propose, therefore, to review in the first place some of the administrative measures of the Emperor in this province and to show how they are a reflection of his general religious policy. We shall next draw a picture, not very bright indeed, of the social condition of the province as affected by a succession of famines and droughts, including in this survey a reference to some floods which visited the capital of Gujarat. Lastly, we shall give an account of a rather formidable insurrection against imperial authority in this province by the half-Hindu half-Muslim agricultural community of the Matias and the Momnas during which the rebels for a time took and held the fort of Broach. This revolt, we shall find, was directly provoked by the religious policy and measures of the Emperor.

A very interesting reference made by the historian Ali Muhammad Khan in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* is indicative of the high reputation and primacy enjoyed by Gujarat throughout the Mughal period among all the Imperial provinces not only because of the fertility of its soil but also by virtue of the excellence of its manufactures of silks and brocades. In 1702-3 an exalted order from the court reached Prince Muhammad Azam,¹ 'the viceroy of lofty descent and high abilities', in which, after complimenting him on his ready obedience to orders, it was stated that in the province of Gujarat, 'the beauty and ornament of India', all kinds of fine arts and crafts were flourishing, and that the articles made in the royal factory (*harkhanas*) at Ahmadabad were rich, splendid and lustrous, and of proper weight. The Emperor goes on to say that at Delhi (Shahjahanabad) fine brocaded silk and

1. Prince Muhammad Azam, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, was appointed Subahdar of Gujarat and served in this province from Nov. 7, 1701 to July 1, 1706.

striped cloth used formerly to be manufactured but that at this time were being given up. The order, therefore, enjoins the Prince to take proper measures to produce successfully such cloth in his province.¹

The toleration extended by the great Akbar to his Hindu subjects, and continued by Jahangir, was largely the result of religious eclecticism, indifference and free-thinking. Partly also was it due to the powerful influence of the harem where Rajput wives enjoyed considerable favour and prestige.

Decline of religious toleration in the Mughal Empire.

From the time of Shah Jahan, however, we see a distinct change in this attitude, and the attacks against Hindu temples and religious customs which began during his reign culminated in the reign of Aurangzeb. The idea of religious toleration was alien to the spirit of the times, in the East as in the West, for it prevented that intimate approximation between Church and State which was considered to be vital and necessary. If it was the ambition of Joseph II of Austria to make Philosophy the legislator of his Empire, it was equally the policy of Aurangzeb to make the Religion of the Quran the basis of his administration; and he pursued his policy to root out Muslim heresy as also Hindu 'unbelief' and 'idol-worship' with a tenacity which was undeterred by any opposition or political consequences.

With these general remarks we shall approach the subject of Aurangzeb's domestic administration in Gujarat. Though the *Mirat-i-Ahmadī* by Ali Muhammad Khan (the last Diwan of the Empire in Gujarat), which is our foremost Persian authority for the history of the province under Mughal rule, was written nearly half a century after the death

Value of the Farman in the Mirat-i-Ahmadī.

of Aurangzeb, it contains the full text of more than a dozen Imperial *farmans* directed to the officers of the Subah during this long reign. These *farmans* are of the utmost value to the student of Indian History for the knowledge of the administrative system of the Mughal Empire. Several of them are common to all the provinces of the Empire, but there are a few which have special reference to the conditions of our province and are thus of interest and importance to us in our study. One of the *farmanas* of the latter category, dated 20th November 1665, is a long document containing nearly thirty-six clauses, the

Aurangzeb's great farman of 1665. majority of which describe and prohibit a very large number of illegal imposts (*abwabs*) which were levied

by the officials of the province of Gujarat in spite of royal instructions to the contrary. All this is greatly to the credit of Aurangzeb as these *abwabs* must no doubt have proved extremely burdensome to the population both of the towns and of the rural areas in their daily occupations. But we must also turn to some information of a different character bearing on the Emperor's social

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadī*, Persian text, Ed. by Nawab Ali, I, 352.

and religious policy in Gujarat which is made available to us in this valuable document.

One set of these regulations is directed against some of the social practices and religious festivities of the Hindu population of Gujarat.

His attitude towards the *Diwali* and the *Holi* festivals.

On the days of the *pancham*, the *amavas* and the *ekadashi*, says the imperial edict, the Hindus are in the habit of closing their shops. The officers are, therefore, enjoined to arrange that these shops should always be kept open so that the business of buying and selling might continue undisturbed. Another clause goes on to say that the Hindus of the province, 'giving currency to false customs,' both in the city and in the parganas of Ahmadabad, light lamps on the *Diwali* night. Moreover, on the days of the *Holi* festival, 'they open their tongue with foul speech,' and light the *Holi* fire in every *chakla* and bazaar, and throw into the flames the stick of any person which they can secure either by trick or by violence. The officers of the province, are, therefore, instructed to see that the Hindu population did not illuminate the bazaars on the night of the *Diwali*, and also to prevent sticks being wrested from people to be thrown into the flames of the *Holi* fire, and above all to put a stop to the use of abusive or filthy language during the latter festival.¹

Some comments on these imperial regulations will not be out of place. It is not clear whether the injunction against the closing

Comments on the closing of the Hindu shops.

of their shops by the Hindus on the *amavas* and the *ekadashi* days was prompted by religious reasons. It is quite possible that the only object of the edict was to prevent frequent and unnecessary dislocation of business caused by these socio-religious practices. Whatever the motive behind them, the orders could not have been actively enforced, and even to this day the practice among Hindu tradesmen of closing their shops on certain days every month, which are considered to be inauspicious, continues to prevail, and illustrates the practical limitations imposed by immemorial customs on the sovereign power, especially in Oriental states.

Equally far is it from being clear that there was a religious motive behind the orders issued by the Emperor against the *Diwali* illuminations in Gujarat. There is no doubt that the Hindu popu-

and on the prohibition of the *Diwali* illuminations.

lation must have been greatly aggrieved at the efforts to prevent their time-honoured methods of rejoicing at their New Year festivities. The pure tenets of Islam do not enjoin any such action by the ruler of a Muslim state over non-Muslim subjects, and Aurangzeb could

1. *Mirat-i-Ahsan*, Persian Text, Ed. by Nawab Ali, Vol. I, 260-1.

not possibly have based his order on Quranic law or tradition. As regards the prohibition of violence and unseemly or indecent language at the Bacchanalian festival of the *Holi*, and of the orgies at the *Holi* festival, which is principally celebrated by the lower classes, the imperial regulations call for no adverse criticism.

On the contrary, the policy of the Emperor has been followed by every civilised administration that has held sway in India.

For another instance of the prohibition of the cherished social and religious festivals of the Hindu population of Gujarat by their Muslim rulers we must go to about a hundred years before the time of Aurangzeb when the Sultans of the Ahmad Shahi dynasty held sway in the province. It

Sultan Mahmud III's persecution of the Hindus, 1545.
was in the later days of this Sultanate, when the throne was occupied by the weak prince Mahmud III (1537-54), that we find the Hindus subjected not only to a prohibition of their festivities, but to an active and unrelenting persecution. In order to understand what follows it may be mentioned that since the time of Sultan Ahmad Shah I, a fourth part of all land in Gujarat had been held by the Rajput *girassias*¹ under the name of *wanta* estates. On the evil advice of his vizir Asaf Khan, Sultan Mahmud III began, some time after 1545, to resume these *Girras* jagirs. This unscrupulous invasion of the sacred rights of property roused a general opposition and the *girassias* of Idar, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Bansvara, Lunavada, Rajpipla and the banks of the Mahi raised insurrections. The Sultan strengthened the frontier posts and put them down. 'In a short time', says the historian, 'neither name nor sign of Koli or Rajput remained in the country, except those that actually worked at the plough, and these too were known by being branded on the right arm, and if any Rajput or Koli was found without the brand-mark he was killed.'²

This bitter persecution, during the period of the Sultanate, of the Rajput landholders throughout the rural districts of Gujarat appears

Hindu festivals and temple-worship to have been accompanied by an equally ruthless body of regulations against the subject population in ship proscribed. the towns. What happened may best be given in the

1. The word *grasia* or *girasia* and *gras* are among the commonest terms in Gujarat and Kathiawar in connection with land revenue administration. The term *gras* is said to mean 'a morsel' and thence to signify subsistence or maintenance. It was a portion of land given as a share to cadets of a ruling chief. It later came in the 18th century to indicate the black-mail paid by a village to a turbulent neighbour as the price of protection. 'Thus the title of *grasia*', says the author of the *Ras Mala*, 'originally an honourable one, indicating its possessor to be the cadet of a ruling tribe, became at last as frequently a term of opprobrium, conveying the idea of a professional robber, "a soldier of the night".' (A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Ed. by Rawlinson, Oxford, Vol. II, 275.)

2. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Skandari*, 239.

words of the historian Sikandar bin Muhammad alias Manjhu, the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, which is our foremost authority for the history of the Gujarat Sultanat :

" The laws and precepts of Islam were so strongly enforced in the time of this Sultan that no Hindu could ride on horse-back in the city. The dress of a Hindu was not complete without his binding a piece of red cloth round his sleeve. Hindu usages and customs, like the obscene rites of the *Holi*, the evil ceremonies of the *Dussehra*, and the worship of idols could not be practised openly. After the martyrdom of the Sultan (in 1554) the *grasias* got hewed out of stone the image of the vile Burhan, the Sultan's murderer, and setting it up as a guardian deity, began to pay it divine worship, saying, ' This is our saviour who has saved us from destruction and starvation. For, had the conditions under which we were living lasted one year more, hunger and privation would have given our lives to the winds of destruction.'"¹

Ali Muhammad Khan, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, makes the following important reference to the origin of the *wantsa* estates of Gujarat during the reign of Sultan Ahmad Shah I (1411-42) in the fifteenth century:

" The whole of the zamindars in the time of Sultan Ahmad Gujarati erected the head of rebellion and disturbance. They were, however, punished and driven from their retreats. In consequence of being thus completely dispossessed of their habitations, that band of unbelievers, being hopeless, began to infest the roads and villages with their depredations. Anarchy increased and the decay of cultivation became visible. Those whose duty it was to advise, in their foresight put an end to these calamities, and exacted from the zamindar of every village security to discontinue his opposition. Three parts of the land of each village, under the denomination of *tuliput*, were acknowledged as the property of the king, and one portion was given to the zamindars, under the denomination of *wantsa*, and they were engaged to furnish guards and protection to their own villages and were to hold themselves in readiness for the service of the king whenever called upon. They attended to make their submission and engaged to pay the crown a salami from their *wantsa*; from this time salami and peshkash became established against them."²

1. Fazlullah, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 239.

2. A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, ed. by Rawlinson, Oxford, II, 270-71. See also Supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 193.

Returning to the subject of Aurangzeb's administration, we find that, according to the Muslim Sunni tradition, it is unlawful for a

The Emperor prohibits clay images. Muhammadan to have any graven image or picture or drawing in his house, and Aurangzeb appears to have enforced this prohibition to the fullest extent. The

farman of 1665 draws the attention of the provincial officers to the fact that some of the workers in pottery made images of animate beings, and that on the festivals of the 'Id and the Shab-i-Barat, and on the days of the 'Urs, they sold in the bazaars horses and elephants made of clay. The royal officers were ordered to see to it that such clay images of animate beings were prohibited.¹

If the Emperor adopted a policy of such puritanical repression towards the social practices of the Hindus of this province, he was

Imperial policy with regard to Hindu temples. not likely to be more indulgent towards their religion and its worship. One section of the great Imperial *farman* of 1665 is of special interest as it lays down

the Imperial policy with regard to the Hindu temples. It says that, before the exalted accession to the throne, idol-temples had been pulled down by royal orders at Ahmadabad and in the parganas of Gujarat, but that these had been rebuilt and idols installed therein and worshipped. The officials of the Subah are, therefore, instructed to ascertain the true facts and to act in accordance with the orders issued on the subject.² Though Aurangzeb did not originate the policy of suppressing idol-worship in Gujarat as well as in the other provinces of the Empire, it cannot be denied that, owing to his great attachment to the 'traditions' of Islam, he intensified this policy and put it into more active operation.

It has already been seen that, long before his accession to the throne, when he was Viceroy of Gujarat under his father in 1645,

Demolition of the temples at Vadnagar and Somnath. Aurangzeb had ordered the great Jain temple of Chintamani, built at Ahmadabad by Shantidas, to be desecrated and converted into a mosque, which was given the title of *Qувват-الIslam*.

After his coming to the throne we do not hear of any similar episode in Gujarat until the 38th year of his reign, when, in 1693-94, the viceroy Shujat Khan received orders that the Hindu temple at Vadnagar, probably the great shrine of Flatkeshwar Mahadev, should be pulled down. Instructions were accordingly sent by the Subahdar to Muhammad Mubariz Babi, the fauzdar, to demolish this temple.³ Ten more years passed away, and in 1702-3, when the aged Emperor was in his 84th year, an order came from the court to say that the temple of Somnath, 'situated in Sorath on the

1. *Masal-i-Ahmad*, op. cit. I, 262.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 259, 261.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 328.

shores of the sea', had been destroyed very early during the reign and Idol-worship had discontinued, but that it was not known how matters stood at the date of the order and information about the exact situation was asked for. If it was found that the Hindus had revived idol-worship there, the temple was to be demolished in such a manner that no vestige of it should remain.¹

Vadnagar was in the Muslim period situated in the pargana of the same name in the *sarkar* or district of Pātan in North Gujarat. It is now a town in the Kheralu *taluka* of the Kadi *prant*

Hoary antiquity of the town of Vadnagar. in the Baroda State, situated 8 miles north-east of Viśnagar. The town is of hoary antiquity and probably occupies the site of the city of Aranspur, the

original home of the Nāgar Brahmins, though few reside there now. The walls of the town, according to an inscription, were built by Kumar Pal in 1152. Vadnagar, though long on the decline, is still a picturesque place and the view from the railway showing the lofty walls, with the houses perched above on rising ground, is specially fine. The temple of Hītkeśhwar Mahadev, held in great reverence by the Nagar Brahmins, lies to the west of the town. According to the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* there were in ancient times 300 temples scattered throughout the city of Vadnagar,

and it was thus literally a city of temples. He goes on to add: 'Vadnagar is inhabited by wealthy Hindus, who are millionaire bankers, so much so that it has been said of Gujarat that it had two golden wings—one the town of Umreth and the other Vadnagar. Alas! these wings are now broken, and the city of Vadnagar suffered most.'²

Aurangzeb, it is well known, cordially disliked the Bohra sect of Muslims at Ahmadabad and other towns of Gujarat as schismatics³

The Bohra sect in Gujarat persecuted. Hence we find him declaring that in the mosques of the 'irreligious Bahras' the Sunni imams and muezzins should continue to be appointed as before

and these should recite the five daily prayers in accordance with the Sunni practice.⁴ In 1703-4, it was reported to the Emperor that two Bohoras of the Ismailia sect, named Isa and Taj, who were cotton sellers, were obtaining money by intimidation and spreading heretical doctrines among the people. On receipt of the royal orders, Prince Muhammad Azam, then viceroy of Gujarat, put them under custody and subsequently released them on their furnishing a

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 353; J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 320.
 2. Imperial Gazetteer, XXIV, 292-3.
 3. Supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 171-72.
 4. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 263.

written bond for good behaviour. But, later, Shaikh Akram-ud-din, the *Sadr*¹ of Ahmadabad, represented to Aurangzeb through Shaikh Nur-al-Haqq that these two Bohras, in spite of their written guarantee to the Prince, were still misleading the people, and that if he would receive secret orders from the Emperor, they would be arrested and sent to the court. These orders having arrived action was immediately taken thereupon.

Shortly afterwards, it was reported to the Emperor that one Khanji, the successor of Qutb, and the leader of the Ismailia Bohras, along

Mulla Khanji and his companions arrested with their religious books.
with twelve missionaries, was misleading the people and spreading false doctrines, and that they had arrived at Ahmadabad and their disciples had collected a sum of 1,14,000 rupees for the purpose of securing the release of the imprisoned persons, and that this amount

was still in their possession unspent and they had besides about sixty religious books. Orders were sent from the court to the Diwan of the Subah that, after consultation with Abul Farah, the Qazi, this Mulla Khanji, as also all the persons whose names were separately mentioned, should be quickly arrested and sent to court along with the sum of one lakh and fourteen thousand rupees which they had collected, and also all the heretical books.

But Aurangzeb did not neglect the help of educative influence to wean the Shiah Bohras from their heresy. He sent instructions to

Aurangzeb orders special religious instruction on Sunni lines.
the effect that arrangements should be made whereby the illiterates among the adults and the children of Bohras should receive religious instruction on orthodox (Sunni) lines both in the capital city of Ahmadabad and in the parganas, and the cost of this education was to be borne by this community. The persons so instructed were to be examined every month and a report made to the court. A similar order was sent to Qazi Abul Farah to co-operate with the Diwan of the province.²

We shall now mention a number of interesting politico-religious orders issued by Aurangzeb in Gujarat which are not so open to

The pargana of Visalnagar renamed Rasul-nagar.
criticism and which help to illustrate the fundamentally theocratic basis of the Emperor's administrative system. In 1677-78, the twenty-first year of his accession, the Emperor sent orders to the Diwan

1. The *Sadr* was in each province a civil judge and supervisor of the lands endowed by the Emperor for the support of pious men, scholars and fakirs. It was his duty to see that such grants were properly applied. The provincial *Sadr*s were under the Chief *Sadr* of the Empire who was called the *Sadr-us-Sadur*. Men of high scholarship and integrity were chosen for the post of *Sadr*.

2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 356, 358-9; J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, V, 433-34.

of the Sabah that the parganah of Visalnagar (one of the most sacred Hindu centres in North Gujarat) should thenceforth be designated Rasulnagar and that the new Islamic name should be entered in the records of the province.¹ Next year the Diwan received an order to the effect that it was against Muslim Law to inflict any monetary fines as punishment for offences and the officers under him and those in charge of crown lands should take a note of this. It was also ordained that if any of the amils or jagirdars or any other person committed an offence he should be punished by dismissal from service or imprisonment or banishment, but no fine should be imposed.²

In 1702-3, when Prince Muhammad Azam, the eldest son of the Emperor, was Viceroy of Gujarat, orders were received in all the

Prohibition of almanacs and mimbars with more than three steps. Subahs of the Empire to the effect that the preparing of almanacs was against religious injunctions and that a written undertaking should be taken from all astrologers to discontinue the practice. The next year (1703-4), the Imperial Prince himself took a leaf

from his father's book. He noticed that the number of steps to the *mimbars* (pulpits) in the mosques at Ahmedabad, and especially those in the Jami Masjid and the Idgah, was more than the 'traditions' permitted. After consulting the Ulama on this point, he ordered the mimbars at both these places to be removed and had new ones built with only three steps, which was the number in the holy Prophet's time.³

Aurangzeb, like the Emperor Justinian and many other famous rulers of mankind, spent a large part of the day in arduous official work, whether in the camp or in the capital. He was

Aurangzeb exacts full work from the judges. not, therefore, likely to allow any neglect of or indifference to duty on the part of subordinate officers.

At this time, reports reached him to the effect that the judges belonging to the Subah of Ahmedabad (i. e. Gujarat) sat in their courts for only two days in the week. Two more days were spent

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian Text, Ed. by Nawab Ali, I, 293.

Visanagar (or Visalsnagar) is now the headquarters town of the taluka of the same name in the Kadi *parg* of the Baroda State situated on a branch of the Gaikwar's State Railway from Mehsana to Kheralu.

The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* writes thus about the creation of the new pargana in Aurangzeb's reign: 'Pargana Rasulnagar or Visalsnagar, 30 kos north of Ahmedabad. The town was founded by one of the Gujarati Rajas. In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, at the request of Mulla Hasan Muhammad Gujarati, 10 villages from the Vijapur pargana and 9 from Kadi, being close to this pargana, were included in it, and it was named Rasulnagar by the Emperor.' (*Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, trans. by Nawab Ali and Seddon, 173.)

2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 293.

3. *Ibid.*, 352, 355.

in attending the darbar of the Subahdar; and the remaining three were enjoyed as holidays. Orders were sent to the effect that neither at the imperial court nor in the other provinces was any such system in existence, and that Gujarat should not be an exception. It was thenceforth laid down that the judges should sit in their courts for five days in the week, viz., from Saturday to Tuesday and on Thursday; on Wednesday they should attend the court of the viceroy; and Friday was to be enjoyed as a holiday (as being the Islamic sabbath). Further, they should be in court from about an hour (two ghari¹) after sunrise upto noon and decide matters brought before them for adjudication according to the law. They were free to go home after noon.²



1. The Emperor Jahangir says in his *Memoirs* that four *gharis* are nearly equal to two sidereal hours. According to another Persian work, five *gharis* are equal to two sidereal hours, i. e., each *ghari* is 24 minutes. (*Tarik-i-Jahangiri* trans. and ed. by Rogers and Beveridge, II, 67 n.)

2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 275. See also J. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 2nd ed., 1924, p. 117.

CHAPTER II.

FAMINE, FLOOD AND PESTILENCE IN GUJARAT DURING AURANGZEB'S REIGN

We shall now turn to review a series of natural calamities which afflicted Gujarat during the reign of Aurangzeb, and especially during

Natural calamities in Gujarat : the second half of it, which must have seriously retarded the economic progress and prosperity of the province. In fact, Gujarat was fast losing, in conse-

quence of these misfortunes, the proud designation of being the Garden of India which it had acquired during the Mughal period. One of the earliest references to famine and epidemics in Gujarat during the long reign of Aurangzeb is to be found in the records of the English Factory at Surat for the year 1664 at the time when Sir George Oxinden was President of the factory. It appears that the rainy season of the year 1663 had been a complete failure in this part of Gujarat, for it was followed by famine and pestilence during the following year. We give below an extract from a letter sent by the Surat Council to their masters at home dated 'Swally Marine, 4th April 1664,' two of the four signatories to the letter being George Oxinden and Gerald Aungier :

'We doubt not but to answer your expectations in the procury of your desired quantities of goods which we are now in possession

Account in the
English Factory
Records.

of, and hope to get them timely together, the Almighty favouring us with seasonable showers; else through the drought of the last year, if it should again so happen, would utterly dispeopple all these parts, it being their manner to forsake their habitations, and with their families to travel into other countries where they heard corn is cheap to preserve them from famishing; there are more than 500 families of weavers that are already fled, and the rest would certainly follow, if the famine should increase, that we shall not dare to intrust them as accustomary, and without it we may not expect any goods, but we hope the Almighty will be merciful to this land, and restore them their wanted plenty.'¹

1. G. W. Forrest, *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, etc., in the Bombay Secretariat, Home Series, 1887*, Vol. I, p. 37.

By divine mercy there was no drought in the year 1664, but the drought and the scarcity described above resulted in a terrible pestilence at Surat and no doubt at other places also. In a letter sent overland to the Company on 26th November, we find a record of the heavy sickness among the members of the English factory during the epidemic that raged in this city :

‘It hath pleased the Almighty to afflict us in general throughout the whole family with agues and fevers that we can scarce say there is a man in your house hath escaped them, but hath been violently afflicted.

Sir George Oxinden at death's door during the epidemic. Among the rest, your President hath very lately escaped death, having had the symptoms thereof upon him and given over by all, but it hath pleased God somewhat to recover him; yet still lies very weak upon his bed, not able to sit up for a dissiness in his head and a weakness in his body, that he is constrained to dictate these with some trouble The passed year’s dearth these people affirm to be the cause of the intemperature of the air, as what always follows a scarcity of rain and corn. All the towns and villages hereabouts are full of sickness, scarce a house free, amongst which, to your prejudice, the weavers have their share; that what with many thousands of them that are fled the passed year, and the remainder now infected, hath been a great hindrance to your investments.’¹

If the small English colony in the Surat factory was down with epidemic fever, and if the great President Oxinden, who had saved a large part of the city from plunder by Shivaji

Heavy mortality earlier in the same year, was almost at death's door among the Banyas and the Parsis. as a result of the contagion, we can form some idea of the heavy toll of life which the epidemic must have taken among the citizens of Surat. The Chaplain of the factory, Rev. John L’Escalot, in a letter home refers to the subject and we gather that out of the twenty-five Englishmen in the factory not more than two escaped the sickness, though luckily it proved mortal to none. But among the Hindus and the Parsis of Surat the mortality was very heavy indeed. ‘The Banyas’ burning place,’ says this Padre, ‘was scarce day or night without two or three bodies frying upon their several piles, and the Persees made a continual feast for the vultures.’²

1. *English Factories in India*, ed. by W. Foster, 1661-64, p. 329.

2. *Ibid.*, 329 n.

The period of about fifteen years between 1681 and 1696 appears to have been one of intense distress and mortality in Gujarat during which drought, famine and pestilence became almost endemic in the province. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* records nearly half a dozen famines during this short period, and, though details are lacking, we have enough information about them to realise the misery and destitution that they must have caused. One of these visitations is of special interest because of the serious bread-riots it gave rise to at Ahmadabad.

In 1681-2, as the result of failure of the rains in the preceding year, the prices of food-grains soared to such heights that the people began to complain and lament. At this time Muhammad

Bread-riots at Amin Khan¹ was Subahdar of the province. It happened that on the day of the 'Id festival of this

year, the viceroy, having performed the prayers at the Idgah² of Ahmadabad, was returning to the city through the main bazar where a crowd of men and women, old and young, had collected owing to the holiday. They began to make the usual complaints about the rise in prices. Taking advantage of the situation, one Shaikh Abubakr, a demagogue known for his mischievous activities, utilised the popular excitement to foment a riot. Incited by him the rabble proceeded from outcries and complaints to action and began to throw rubbish and stones at the palanquin in which the viceroy was being carried to his residence. The excitement and riot spread and it soon appeared as if the whole city would be enveloped in this conflagration. The viceroy's bodyguard was prepared to disperse the mob by arms, but Muhammad Amin Khan, realising the seriousness of the

1. Muhammad Amin Khan was the son of Mir Jumla, the famous diamond merchant and prime minister of Golconda who subsequently entered the Mughal service. He was Subahdar or Viceroy of Gujarat for ten years under Aurangzeb from July 28, 1672 to June 18, 1682. He died at Ahmadabad on the last mentioned date and his mausoleum, with a masjid adjoining it, is to be found in a corner of the Bhadra citadel, adjoining the Towers. The Rauza and its connected buildings have for nearly half a century past been transformed into the residence and offices of the Executive Engineer of the Ahmadabad Division. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Pers. text, Ed. by Nawab Ali, Vol. I, p. 302; A. W. Crawley-Boevey, *Scheme for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in Ahmedabad*, Bombay, 1886, pp. XXXI-XXXIII.)

2. The Idgah is the place of assembly and prayers on the occasion of the Muslim 'Id festival. It is in India usually a platform of white plastered brick-work, enclosed by a low wall on three sides, and situated outside the town or village. The old Idgah at Ahmadabad is situated outside the city-walls near the Kankaria Tank to the west of the road leading from the lake to Shah Alam. It must have been originally, during the period of Muslim rule, a fine structure. It is now quite out of use, and the disappearance of the fine chunam has exposed the brick walls which are fast falling into decay.

situation caused by an excited mob, prevented his retainers from such an action, and managed to reach the Bhadra citadel.

When news of this riot reached the ears of the Emperor through the Subahdar and the *Waqai-navis*¹ his anger was roused and orders were sent to the former to arrest the rioters and to punish them some by death and others by imprisonment. Muhammad Amin Khan, however, decided to punish the principal leader who had for his own

purposes incited the population. He, therefore, invited all the learned and holy men of Ahmadabad to a feast and among them came Shaikh Abubakr also. After all had gathered, the Subahdar called the Shaikh by his side and offered him a few slices of a poisoned melon. Immediately after he had eaten of the fatal fruit, the Shaikh began to feel uneasy and left the assembly. When the viceroy asked him where he was going so soon, the Shaikh replied, 'I am going to a house that has been prepared for me.' He died on the way before he could even reach his residence.²

The year 1684 is also memorable in the history of the city of Ahmadabad. Owing to the heavy fall of the rains there were floods

Floods in the Sabarmati—the city and the Bhadra walls breached, 1684. in the Sabarmati river which overflowed its banks and the waters reached the Three Gates in the Maidan Shah. The walls of the city as well as those of the Bhadra enclosure were breached at several places.

Mukhtar Khan,³ the Subahdar, wrote to the court for their repairs. Orders were thereafter received by the Diwan of the province to state what expenditure had been incurred during the preceding reign when such repairs were carried out. The official records showed that, in the 22nd year of Shah Jahan's reign, 1004 gold *ashrafis* were given from the treasury, and in the 29th year of the

1. The *Waqai-Navis* (lit. the writer of events), or the news-reporter, was the normal agent through whom, during the Mughal period, the Central Government gathered information about the events taking place in the various parts of the Empire. There was a *waqai-navis* attached to every town and province and to every field-army. He had his clerks who attended the court of the Subahdar, the Diwan's office, as well as the courts and the kotwal's *chahera* to gather daily information, and he sent news to the court regularly and publicly. The contents of his news-letter were communicated to the Subahdar of the province or to the general of the army before it was forwarded. (J. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 1924, 2nd edition, pp. 71-72.)

2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, ed. by Nawab Ali, I, 300-301.

3. Mukhtar Khan succeeded Muhammad Amin Khan as Subahdar of Gujarat and governed the province from 1682 to 1685. He died at Ahmadabad on 24th April 1685 and was buried in the Rauza of Shah Alji Kandhani, in the Rayakhard ward. His remains were subsequently removed elsewhere. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Persian text, ed. by Nawab Ali, I, p. 310; Jas. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part II, p. 42.)

same reign Rizvi Khan had collected 60,000 rupees from the *mahajans* of the city for this purpose. It was also reported that the estimate for the present repairs was 22,644 rupees. Imperial orders were received to the effect that this sum was to be paid from the treasury in four instalments, but that no demand was to be made from the inhabitants of the city in this matter.¹

The Banyas of Gujarat have always shown much aptitude for combining into associations for trade and for caste purposes. The

The 'Mahajans' of Gujarat. *mahajan* may be described as an association among merchants or craftsmen in towns for the purpose of securing common interests. The best English equivalent for the word appears to be 'trade-guild'. Just as in every Indian village there is a council called the *panchayat* presided over by its elders to regulate communal affairs, so in every town there are a number of *mahajans* prescribing trade-rules and settling trade disputes under the guidance of their leaders. Such *mahajans* or guilds represent not only the merchants and traders, but also the various classes of craftsmen such as the goldsmiths, the carpenters the metal-workers, the masons, the dyers, etc. The growth of the *mahajans* or associations is made all the easier if all persons following the same pursuit belong to the same caste. The membership is open to all persons engaged in a particular craft, but a special position is held by the *sheiks* or leaders by hereditary right, who with a few other persons of influence exercise governing authority within each guild.²

In 1685, as the result of drought, famine conditions again prevailed, and the Shaikh-ul-Islam,³ the Chief Qazi of the Empire, represented to

the sovereign that the poor Muslims at Ahmadabad, High prices and as well as other inhabitants of the city, were in great scarcity of grain, 1684-86. distress owing to the rise in prices and that the duty on food-grains should therefore be remitted. Orders were accordingly issued to the Diwan of the province not to collect these

1. *Azraf-i-Akbari*, Persian text, op. cit., I, 305-6.

2. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, Ahmadabad, pp. 106-16 for an elaborate article on 'Trade-Guilds in Gujarat' by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederick Lely, I.C.S.

3. The Shaikh-ul-Islam was the eldest son and successor of Abdul Wahhab Gujarati whom he succeeded as Chief Qazi of the Empire, a post which he held with great dignity and integrity from 1676 to 1683. He was one of the noblest characters of the day and it is no wonder that the corruption and venality which were practiced by his predecessors in office were hateful to him. He sought and obtained permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and so resigned his office at the end of 1683. On his return he lived at his ancestral town of Patan in North Gujarat until 1698 when he undertook a journey to the court at the repeated entreaties of the Emperor, but died on the way. (J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 84-86.)

duties for one year.¹ The next year (1686), the Diwan informed the Emperor that the rains having failed again the price of grain was even higher than in the preceding year and that if the impost was levied there would be a great outcry and laments from the people. It was, therefore, ordered by the sovereign that the duties should continue to be remitted until the price of grain had gone down.²

We find it recorded that in 1690-1, following upon a famine, pestilence (*waha*) broke out at Surat, Broach, Ahmadabad and other places in Gujarat, leading to heavy mortality.³

State control of grain stocks and prices. Three years later, in 1694-5, as the price of food-grains had not yet gone down, Shujaat Khan, the viceroy, sent orders to the *mutsaddis* in all the

parganas to forward a portion of the local crops to Ahmadabad to be sold in the markets there, and to prevent any engrossing of grain by the merchants. At the same time, officers were appointed for the markets (*mandis*) in the city of Ahmadabad with instructions to buy up grain and sell it to the people at a reasonable rate.⁴ Though the details are not very explicit, the object of these regulations is clear, viz., to prevent the grain-dealers from storing up the food-supply on the one hand and to sell the grain to the people at a reasonable price on the other. The last reference to a famine in the reign of Aurangzeb refers to the year 1696-7, i. e., only two years after the last, when there was drought in most of the parganas of the province and especially in Marwar. 'From Patan to Jodhpur,' says the historian, 'neither water nor grass was to be seen.'⁵

Shujaat Khan (formerly Kartalab Khan), mentioned in the preceding paragraph, was Subahdar of Gujarat under Aurangzeb for the unprecedentedly long period of 17 years from 1685-1701.

The great vice-roy Shujaat Khan of Gujarat. During the greater part of this period he also held, under the Emperor's orders, the post of Fauzdar or military commandant of Jodhpur in combination with the Viceroyalty of Gujarat in order to carry out more effectively the operations of the long war in Marwar against the indomitable Rajput patriot Durgadas Rathor. Shujaat Khan died at Ahmadabad on 9th July 1701. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* says that no governor of this province up to the time of the writing of his history in 1170 H (A. D. 1756-7) enjoyed so long a term of office and with such security and splendour as did Shujaat Khan, and he adds that the Hindu women of the province celebrated in their songs the memory of the good days of his administration.¹ The memory of this great viceroy of Gujarat is

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 309.

2. *Ibid.*, 315.

3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 325.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

5. *Ibid.*, 335-6.

still commemorated at Ahmadabad by a Masjid and a Ranza which were built by him and which are situated within a large enclosure on one side of the Salapos Road. The masjid was built, according to the Persian inscription over the central mihrab, in 1107 H, corresponding to A. D. 1695-6, and resembles in style that of Sardar Khan in the Jamalpur ward. Adjoining the masjid is the *maqbara* where Shujat Khan is buried, and the inscription on the tomb here—without indicating his name—says, 'date of the decease, Thursday, the 14th of the month Safar, in the year 1113 of the Hijra,' which corresponds to 10th July 1701.²



1. *Mirat-i-Alwanî*, ed. by Nawab Ali, Pt. I, 313, 346.

2. Jas. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part II, 61-62.

CHAPTER III.

THE REVOLT OF THE MATIAS AND MOMNAS IN GUJARAT, 1685.

The only domestic disturbance against Imperial authority in Gujarat recorded during the long reign of Aurangzeb was the result of religious causes and was provoked by the Emperor's efforts to purify some practices which he considered to be idolatrous. The Momnas and the

Origin of the Matias and the Momnas of Gujarat.

Matias,¹ who caused the revolt, were the descendants of Hindus of the Leva Kanbi and other castes, principally husbandmen, who were originally converted in the 15th century to the Shahi form of Islam by one Saiyed Imam Shah, a religious recluse who came from Persia and settled down near the village Giramtha (now called Pirana), some nine miles south of Ahmadabad. It was among the Matia Kanbis of the Khandesh and Baglan districts that the insurrection first broke out. Though successful for a time, it was easily crushed when confronted by a trained army sent by the provincial viceroy. But while it lasted it caused considerable panic among the officials, and it showed what large numbers of otherwise pacific cultivators could achieve when goaded to frenzy by religious grievances.

An interesting account of the practices of these Matias and Momnas in the 17th century is given by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. We are told they had such faith in their

The Pirana saints and their *murids*.

religious guides and leaders that they handed over to them a tenth part of their annual income. The payment of this tithe was carried to such an extent that if a man had ten children he would present one of them to the Saiyed as a disciple or pay the latter a money equivalent for the child. The Pirana saints, whose headquarters were at the village of Giramtha near Ahmadabad, thus came to look upon their *murids* or spiritual followers as a great source of income and they enjoyed in consequence a large measure of luxury and ease. These disciples were distributed among the descendants of the saints as part of their inheritance, and when giving their daughters in marriage the Saiyeds assigned to them a number of their *murids* as a part of their dowry.²

1. For the origin and the manners and customs of the Momnas and the Matias see Appendix to this chapter.

2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 320; *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX. Pt. II, 67.

Some time about the year 1685, Saiyed Shahji, a descendant of Imamshah, succeeded to the spiritual leadership of this sect. He

The fame of
Saiyed Shahji of
Pirana.

was always surrounded by several thousands of his disciples, and a large number of followers came to him from all parts to make offerings. The rush

would be so great that he could hardly find a moment for rest and privacy, and he used sometimes to stretch out his feet from behind a screen or curtain. Such was, however, the blind faith of his votaries that they were content with kissing the saint's feet and heaping near it their offerings of gold and silver. 'In the days of Aurangzeb,' says the Persian historian, 'much attention was given to Muslim Law and to the rooting out of dissent,' and most of the royal servants in their officious zeal to

The sect
accused of
being Shiabs.

become popular with the Emperor adopted very orthodox views. The malice of these officials led them to accuse the Matias and their head with being Shiabs and an attempt was made to chastise them. Several of the saint's disciples were put into prison, and the facts about Shahji and the irreligiousness of his disciples were reported to the Emperor.¹

Aurangzeb, on receiving this information, wrote to the *Sadr* and the *Qazi* of the province to send Saiyed Shahji to the royal presence so that he might enquire about his beliefs and Shahji commits suicide to avoid being sent to court.

his religion. The saint was at the time living near the tomb of Imamshah at Pirana and when the messengers arrived to conduct him to Ahmadabad he avoided the summons and turned them away. The matter being represented by the *Qazi* to the viceroy Shujaat Khan, a party was despatched by the latter under a *Jamadar* to fetch the Saiyed. The saint, finding all resistance useless, agreed to go with them, but while leaving his house he took poison with the result that he died shortly afterwards. Another version is that Shahji reached Ahmadabad safely, and, after an interview with the governor, administered poison to himself on learning that he was to be sent to the royal court.² His son, a boy only twelve years old, was thereupon taken charge of and sent to the Emperor.

The news of Saiyed Shahji's death spread with great rapidity among his followers who were extremely grieved (thereat) and were ready to believe that the Viceroy had killed their leader by admi-

1. *Mirat-i-Alemdadi*, I, 320-21.

2. The mausoleum of the martyred saint Shahji stands in the sacred enclosure at Pirana (near the village of Giramtha), a few paces away from the great Rauza of Imamshah, the founder of the Memna and Matia sects. All the Rauzas here are in excellent preservation though not very remarkable for architectural beauty.

nistering poison to him. They came to the conclusion that to sit idle under the circumstances was sinful and that to avenge their saint's death would be meritorious action. From various

The Matias of parts of southern and eastern Gujarat, old and young, cross the Narbada small and great, abandoning their homes and their

ds. property, and determined to die for their leader, made towards Ahmadabad. While they were crossing the Narbada river in boats the Mughal Fauzdar of Broach sent his soldiers to oppose their passage, but without success, and when he himself arrived at the scene he found that all of them had crossed the river. A skirmish followed in which this officer was killed, and the Momnas, now in open

revolt against legal authority, took possession of the and capture the fort of Broach. The inhabitants of this town were

not molested in any way, but arrangements were made by the rebels to put the fort in a condition for defence and they were soon joined by a large number of persons who were out for trouble and violence.

The news having reached the Fauzdar of Baroda, he marched against the insurgents but was unable to drive them from their position

as the fort of Broach is situated on a hill and is protected by the Narbada river on one side. The fame of the Matias soon spread all about the country and

Shujaat Khan sends an army for its relief. a rumour went round that they were invincible. When Aurangzeb was informed of the situation he sent very strict orders to Shujaat Khan to expel the rebels and to recapture the fort of Broach, and the viceroy sent an army under Nazarali Khan and Mubarak Khan Babi to effect this purpose.

The royal troops arrived at Broach and began to take the necessary measures for the investment of the fort. It was evident that

Siege and capture of Broach by the Imperial army. the revolting sectarians could not possibly hold out long as they had no military leader and no experience of warfare. One day, at noon, when the rebels' guards in the fort had retired from the scorching sun

into the shade, some of the besiegers applied their ladders to the walls and scaling them killed a number of the insurgents who were lying asleep. They next opened the gates of the fort through which their comrades outside rushed in. In the general *mélée* that ensued the now helpless and distracted Momnas fought bravely and desperately thinking it an honour to meet the death of martyrs on behalf of their late spiritual leader. Many who were taken captive urged the victors to kill them so that they might join their comrades who had perished. They even killed each other and large numbers of both men and women threw themselves into the Narbada river and were drowned. The Mughal Jamadar Nuruddin Bhattai was killed in the action and Shujaat

Khan was complimented by the Emperor when tidings of the victory at last reached the court. The author of the *Mirat* says that he had recorded these events from what he had heard.¹

APPENDIX.

THE MATIAS AND MOMNAS OF GUJARAT

'The Matias as well as the Momnas are half-Hindus half-Muhammadans and thus differ considerably from other divisions of the country population of Gujarat. They are descended from Hindus of the Leva Kanbi and other castes who were originally converted in the 15th century to the Shahi form of Islam by Saiyed Imamshah.

Traditions about their conversion in the 15th century. Of this conversion two stories are told: one is that Imamshah, by bringing down rain after two seasons of drought, converted a large body of Hindu cultivators. The other says that a company of Leva Kanbis going as pilgrims to Benares passed a night at the village of Giramtha. Imamshah told them that if they would carefully listen to his doctrines they would visit Benares without the trouble of going there. They agreed, and in a trice they were in the holy city, paid their vows, bathed in the Ganges, and awoke to find themselves at Pirana. Astonished with this miracle they adopted Imamshah as their spiritual head. x x x The origin of the word Matia is doubtful. According to one account the sect is so called because it belongs to the monastery or *math* at Pirana. According to another the word comes from *mat*, opinion, i.e., the 'believing' Kanbis.

Origin of the terms Matia and Momna. We may also note in this connection the expression *mati-ul-Islam*, which means submissive to Islam. The word Momna, or more properly *momin*, means 'believer'.

'Matia Kanbis are to-day found only in the Jamalpur and Bardoli sub-divisions of Surat District. That they were originally Leva Kanbis

The Matia Kanbis: their saints and spiritual centres. from Kaira and Ahmadabad is proved by the traces of relationship still subsisting between Leva and Matia Kanbis, and by the surnames of Kothia and Bavalia derived from the villages of Koth and Bavla in Dhan-dhuka Taluka. In their appearance, speech and dress the Pirana Matias do not differ from Leva Kanbis. Like the latter they are strictly vegetarians eating neither fish nor flesh. They are skilful and prosperous husbandmen. They worship the tombs of their saints at Pirana, Ahmadabad, Navsari and Burhanpur. Their sacred book is the collection of religious precepts called *Shiksha Patri* made by Imamshah,

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmad*, I, 322-24; J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, V, 434-35.

the saint of Pirana. Some of them learn the book by heart and gain the title of *Kakas* or devotees. These *Kakas* are laymen and like the rest of the Matias maintain themselves by tilling the soil. One special family of *Kakas* officiates at some of their ceremonies and is the agent through whose hands all presents pass to the saintly descendants of Imamshah at Ahmadabad, Navsari and Burhanpur. The Matias include three religious divisions, viz., *Panchias*, the followers of Surbhai's mausoleum at Pirana; the *Satias*, those who follow Baba Muhammad's; and the *Athias* who follow Bakar Ali's tomb. These are so called from the fact that the number of devotees who originally managed these shrines were five, seven, and eight respectively.

'The social and religious customs of the Matia Kanbis are a mixture of those of the Hindus and the Muslimes. They keep the Ramzan fast and observe the '*Urs* or their saint's

Their religious practices. day as a holiday. But they also observe the Holi, the

Divaso, and the Divali as festivals. Their chief places of pilgrimage are Pirana, Navsari, Burhanpur and Vemal (seven miles from Miagam in Broach district). At all these centres, except at Burhanpur, the pilgrims visit only the Saints' tombs. But at Burhanpur they worship the great toe of their living spiritual leader. The latter sets his foot on a heap of not less than a hundred rupees contributed by one or two pilgrims. After the foot has been thus set, it is washed, rubbed with some fragrant substance, and the great right toe is kissed by each pilgrim in turn.' x x x No wonder then that the reports of similar idolatrous practices on the part of the Matias at Pirana during his reign, and the worship of their spiritual leader Shahji, provoked in 1685 the anger of Aurangzeb, and the summoning of Shahji to the court, which led to his suicide and the Matia revolt, the tragic consequences of which have been described in the text.

'The marriage ceremonies of the Matias do not differ from those of the Leva Kanbis. The family-priest, who is an Audich or Modh Brahman, officiates at these ceremonies. The Matias

Marriage and burial ceremonies. bury their dead, the body being laid in a Musalman bier. The mourners repeat at the grave two short prayers in Gujarati. The first prayer runs: In the name of Allah, the compassionate and the merciful, of Satgor patra, of Brahma, of Indra, of Imamshah, of the spotless spiritual Vishnu, and of Nur Ali Muhammad Shah. The second prayer is in these words: May the incense burn, all evil disappear, the faith shine, and mercy be secured.

'The Mominas, more properly *Momins* or Believers, are found in considerable numbers all over Gujarat. They are the descendants of Hindus of many castes converted to the Shiah form of Islam by

different members of the family of Ismailia Saiyeds, of whom Imamshah of Pirana (c. 1449) was the most distinguished. Though from their headquarters known as Radhanpuri or Dhandhari or Palanpuri, and from their religious guides known as Nurshahi, Mashaikhshahi, etc., all are Imamshahi Musalmans. With the Matias of Khandesh, the Gujarat Momnas rose in revolt against Imperial authority in 1685, taking and for some time holding the city of Broach.

The Momnas of Gujarat. The Momnas of the Ahmadabad sect wear the Banya turban and in every part of their dress copy the Hindus. Others, outside the district, wear a three-cornered Muslim turban and coat. The women, except a few in Surat, dress like Hindus. Almost all eat flesh, but for fear of offending the Hindus they do not use it at their public dinners. The men are weavers, dyers, cloth-dealers and husbandmen. Except the Ahmadabad sect, they read Qutb-ud-din's Gujarati Quran and repeat at prayers their saint's name. The Ahmadabad sect, instead of the Quran, reads Imamshah's book of religious rules. All practice circumcision and bury the dead. Hindu names are common in North Gujarat though rare in the south. While with the other Momnas marriages take place according to the Muslim rules, the Ahmadabad sect calls up, in addition to the Muslim forms, a Brahman and goes through the Hindu ceremony.¹

Their social and religious customs. Momna Kanbis are found almost entirely in Cutch, nearly two-thirds of the cultivators in Cutch being of this fraternity. According

Momna Kanbis of Cutch. to one account, after the great Momna revolt, a portion of them fled to Cutch and settled at Shikra in Vagad. According to another, they were Leva Kanbis converted, and called Momins or believers, by Pir Sadr-ud-din who became their independent pontiff or *imam*. They are chiefly husbandmen and labourers. Shiabs in faith they are Momins only in name, their habits, feelings and general mode of thought being Hindu. Though not knowing why, they keep the *Jannashtami* and *Diwali* holidays, dressing in their best and feasting. Though they believe, according to their own account, in Shet Saiyed of Patan, the cultivators devote one-twentieth of their income to Imamshah's shrine at Pirana. The Momnas of Cutch do not associate with Musalmans, eat no flesh, do not circumcise, say no five daily prayers, and do not keep the Ramzan fast.²

1. Extracts from the *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, Part I, 167-72; Part II, 66-68 and 76-77. For a full account of the history and divisions of the Pirana saints and of their mausolea near the village of Giramtha, nine miles south of Ahmadabad, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, IV, Ahmedabad, 287-90.

2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V, Cutch, pp. 90-91.

FIVE VALA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.*

In June 1930, these copper-plate grants were found in the course of excavations made in Vala at a distance of about 500 yards from the tank known at present as Ghora-Daman. The excavations were undertaken on the spot, as Mr. R. L. Mehta, the then Karbhari of Vala State, (Kathiawar), suspected that there would be unearthed near by the King's palace or there would be located a Buddhist Monastery where students from outside flocked for higher studies in Buddhistic lore. During the course of the excavations only these copper-plates were found piled one upon another below a slab of white stone used for sharpening swords and other such weapons. Nothing else of importance was found. In July 1930 I was entrusted with the work of deciphering them, the results of which I now place before the public. I am much indebted to Mr. R. L. Mehta for his kindness in giving me permission to decipher and publish them. My cordial thanks are also due to Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Pandit G. H. Ojha, Ajmer, for many useful suggestions and to Mr. Chhotalal Kanji, Librarian, Lang Library, Rajkot, for making available the plates for me. Thanks are also due to Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M.A., of Satara, for lending me his MS. of Valabhi grants.

Of these grants No. I alone is of some importance inasmuch as it is one of the few known grants of the Gārulaka dynasty. Besides its date G.S. 230 is very important as *it is the earliest plate of the family* and gives the latest date for Druvasena I. The other plates are not very important, stereotyped as they are in their wording though the date 319 of No. V is a new one as also the mention of the Buddhistic Monasteries built by Yaksha-Śūra, and Pūrṇa-Bhattā.
Characters.

These belong to the Southern class of alphabets and noteworthy are the forms of the Jihvāmūlīya and Upadhmāniya. The letters of grant No. I are of a little different type, thus separating it from the group, as it does not, strictly speaking, belong to the Valabhi rulers but their feudatories, the Gārulakas. Besides they have each of them a small circle at the top of the vertical lines. The way of representing the vowel mark of 'ā' in the case of 'bā' (in grant IV l. 15) and of the final consonant 't' with a stroke at the top deserves notice. (No. V. L 43).

* Read before the first Bombay Historical Congress in 1931.

Orthography.

The following chief features are noticeable under this head.

- (1) Doubling of म् after त् as in कन्मे I. 1

" " त् " " " चपार्जिता I. 2.
 " " त् " " " सार्वी I. 23, II. 5, II. 10.
 " " त् " " " II. 3.
 " " त् " " " I. 5; II. 12;
 " " त् " " " I. 7; V. 20.
 " " त् " " " कार्य etc. I. 10; II. 6.
 " " त् " " " गर्भ I. 17; II. 16.
 " " त् " " " पैच V. 19.
 " " त् " " " अतुद्दर II. 11 but शीतिकंपम् III. 7.
 " " before त् " " वा II. 14, 19.

- (2) The occasional use of the *guttural nasal* instead of the *Anusvāra*, before S as in वह्नात् III. 3; III. 29; IV. 3; V. 3.

- (3) The use of the *dental nasal* instead of *anusvāra* before S as in अन्त II. 15; V. 2; विष्वन्ति V. 25.

- (4) The use of ' ri' for r e. g. रेति III. 5.

- (5) Visarga as a mark of punctuation e. g. IV. 28, 26.

- (6) Want of Sandhi as in I. 16, 20.

[N. B. The Roman Figures refer to the grants published here; the usual numbers refer to the lines in the grants.]

Language.

The language of all the Valabhi plates is Sanskrit. The imprecatory portion at the end is always metrical, the rest being in prose. "The language is highly artificial and is devoid of real poetic skill. The way, more or less conventional, in which the various kings are praised, is stereotyped. The artificial style of Sanskrit prose, with its long compounds, which was carried to its perfection by Bāga, seems to have been appreciated by the learned not only in Northern India but influenced other parts like Kathiawar, during the Valabhi period."

Valabhi grants and their character.

Though the rulers of Valabhi have to their credit about a hundred copper-plate grants, none of them is of any historical importance, fail as they do to record contemporary events. But almost all the grants are religious in character. Valabhi rulers were quite catholic in their charity and tolerant in their religious spirit. "In the country are several hundred monasteries of Saṅghārāmas with about 6,000 monks. Most of them study the Hinayāna. . . . There are several hundred temples of Devas and sectaries of many sorts. . . ."^{*} In such terms Hsien Tsiang, who visited Valeh in about 640 A. D. describes the kingdom Valabhi and the religious condition.

* Beal, II, p. 260.

The Valabhi rulers were orthodox Hindus. Many of the grants are granted to Brahmins who migrated from their countries and settled in places where they secured patronage at the hands of the Maitraka rulers. Thus in grant IV two Brahmins are said to have left Daspura and resided in Valabhi. Of these five grants, published here, four are Buddhist and only one Brahmanical. In the Buddhist grants donations are made for the upkeep and repairs of Vihāras, but the Brahmanical grant gives a village to two Brahmins. It is a curious fact that though most of the Maitraka rulers profess themselves to be devout worshippers of Śiva, only one grant donates property to a Śiva temple in Balavarmānaka Vaṭapadra.¹ The Bull-emblem on their seals and the epithet Parama Māheśvara which all of them use, distinctly show that the Maitrakas, the Valabhi rulers, were Śaivas. A number of Śiva Lingas of exceptionally large size are dug out among the ruins. Bull images are found. This shows that they did build Śiva temples, and as perhaps they were maintained by State, no grants were made to them. However it is curious that no Śiva temple, except one, built by private individuals, was recipient of royal bounty.

A grant of Ga. 290 was issued by Śilāditya I alias Dharmāditya towards a Sun temple built in the village Bhadrapūlkā.² One of the Maitraka kings Dharapāṭṭa is styled 'Paramāditya-bhakta'—a great devotee of the sun.³ It may show that in the Valabhi period Sun Worship also prevailed in the country.

Grants II (L. 22), III (L. 21), V (L. 33) refer to the Yakṣaśūra-Vihāra and grant V (L. 34) refers to Pūrnabhāṭṭā Vihāra, both monasteries for *sāṃsāra*. That all these monasteries were built in and about Valabhi only is seen from the explicit mention that they were built in the township (प्रश्न) of Valabhi. Valabhi, as noted by Hiuen Tsang, was the centre of Buddhist learning in those days and scholars from all parts of India came to Valabhi and lived there in the monasteries built under Royal patronage. Monasteries built by princess Dūḍjī,⁴ Āchārya Bhadsanta Sthiramati,⁵ Divirapati Skandabāṭṭa,⁶ Bhikshu Vimala Gupta⁷ are mentioned in other grants. There is one more

1. Grant of Ga. 290; See Ind. Ant., IX, pp. 237ff. The temple was built by Harināth.

2. See Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle for 1919-20, p. 54.

3. See Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, Bhavnagar, p. 31.

4. Indian Antiquary XIV, p. 237; Indian Antiquary IV, p. 115.

5. Indian Antiquary VI, 9.

6. Indian Antiquary I, 46.

7. See Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series) Vol. I, page 37, by Diskalkar,

monastery named after Bhāṭṭārka and presented to Rājasthāniya Śūra.¹

These monasteries which were very liberally endowed by the kings were centres of Buddhist learning. Sthira-Mati, founder of a Vihāra, was a deep and famous scholar. His monastery had a splendid library of sacred books.² One grant provides for the purpose of the purchase of scriptures.³

The villages mentioned in the present grants are Bhāṭṭipadra, Phāṇikaprasravapa, Niggudaka, Vaṭṭadraha (?), Amadāsaputra, Daśapura, Danturāputra, Nāgadīnānaka, Bhadrēśvara.

The sub-divisions mentioned are Ghāśaraka and Rohēśaka. The country is referred to in the questionable plural 'Surāśṭreshu'.⁴

I have not been able to identify any of these.

Grant No. 1 Copper-plate of the Gārūlaka Mahārāja Varāhadāsa of the year 230 G. E. (549 A. D.)

These are two copper-plates measuring each about $12\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and $8\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth. Each has two ringholes and are fastened together by rings. There is a seal attached to one of the rings. The inscription and emblem on the seal are completely blurred. It may perhaps have borne an image of Garuḍa on it as the dynastic name would suggest.

The inscription which is mostly in Sanskrit prose has been preserved perfectly well. The alphabet is of an early southern type. The letters have many of them small circles at top.

The inscription records a grant of land made by the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Varāhadāsa (I. 12) of the Gārūlaka dynasty (I. 2). It was issued from Phāṇika-prasravapa. Varāhadāsa (II) granted a plot of land measuring a hundred Pādāvartanas⁵ in the village of Bhāṭṭi-

1. See Indian Antiquary Vol. V, p. 207.

2. Indian Antiquary, September, 1925, p. 39.

3. यद्यनेत्र दुष्टकोण-(चयार्दि), Ibid.

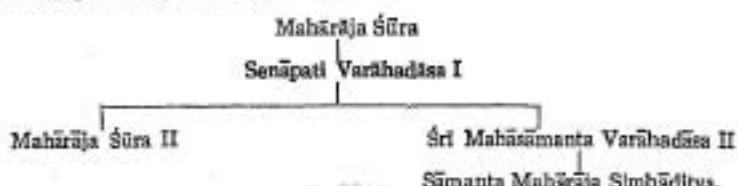
4. The word Surāśṭra is found in the (masculine) singular or plural in the Valabhi plates. In one place it is found used in the Feminine singular—'Surāśṭrāyam'.

See Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, p. 109.

5. Sir Bahadur G. H. Oza has kindly furnished the following note on पादावर्ता. "Pādāvarta was an old land-measurement generally mentioned in the grants from Kathiawar. The term has hitherto been misunderstood. (1) in Bothling and Roth's Sanskrit Wörterbüch, Pādāvarta is explained, according to the commentator on Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtra, as a square foot. (2) Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives the meanings of the word ""a wheel for raising water from a well, i.e., an Araghata" and "a square foot"." (3) Dr. Fleet while editing the Mallya plates of Mahārāja Dharaśena (II) of Valabhi dated the G. S. 252, writes 'Pādāvarta lit. the turning round of a foot is given by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning a square foot. But it seems more likely that such an expression as 'hundred Padavartas' means a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet square each way i.e. ten thousand square feet

padra, near Valabhi, for providing clothes, food etc. to the Bhikshus residing in the Vihāra of the merchant Ajita of the same village that was bestowed as a mark of favour upon him by Mahārāja Dhruvasena I of Valabhi, and for incense, lamp oil, etc., for the worship of the Lord Buddha. The Gārulakas were the Sāmantas or feudatory chiefs under the rulers of Valabhi. The capital seems to have been Phankaprasavaṇa, for the Pālitana plates of Sāmanta Mahārāja Simhāditya, the son of Maharaja Varāhadāsa II are also issued from the same place.¹ Dr. Hultzsch suggests that the name Gārulaka stands for Gārujaka or Gāruḍaka and the family claimed descent from Garuḍa.²

This inscription and the other known plates of dynasty give the following genealogy of the dynasty :—



The grant of Simhāditya gives the genealogy from Senāpati Varāhadāsa and Mahārāja Śūra of our grant is mentioned there as Mahāsāmanta Bhattīśūra.

The pedigree of these princes is in the conventional terms. The only historical reference of any importance is the statement in II. 9-10 that Varāhadāsa II conquered a ruler of Dvārakā, whose name the grant fails to record. A mention of this conquest is also made in the Pālitana plates of the G. S. 255.

The date of the grant is given as Māgha Śu 1 of the year 230 of the Gupta Era (or about 549 A. D.). The date and the year are given in numerical symbols. The reference to Mahārāja Dhruvasena in L 15 shows that Varāhadāsa was his contemporary. The latest date of Dhruvasena that is known is 226.³

It is written by Bhaṭṭa.

rather than only one hundred square feet which would measure only ten feet each way, and would be rather a small area for a grant, to say nothing of the still smaller areas mentioned further on. The Sanskrit Kośas, Vācaspatya Brīhadabhidhīna and Śabda Kalpadruma, both give the meaning of the word as 'a wheel for raising water from a well i.e. Araghāṭa'. But all these interpretations cannot be accepted. In one place the Malliya grant mentions अष्टाविंशति पादावौपरिसरा वाणि 'an irrigation well with an area of 28 Pādāvartas'. Hence Pādāvarta cannot but be less than 'a Vighā'.⁴

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, p. 16.
 2. Ibid., p. 17.
 3. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. I, p. 16.

ପ୍ରମୁଖ ହାତେ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ ହାତେ କାନ୍ତିକୁ
ପ୍ରଲୋଚନା କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ
ଗାନ୍ଧିଜୀ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ
ଶକ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ
ଦିନିକ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ
କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ କାନ୍ତିକୁ

GRANT NO. I OF S. 230 G. E.

PLATE A

- (१) वो स्वस्ति कंकप्रद्वयणाद्वक्षुलमौवासान्युदवयशसां गाशुलकामां वेशेतुर्ल-
 (२) छलसुप्रद्वसंसक्षितलक्ष्यप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतद्वानमानार्ज्ञोपाच्चितानुरा-
 (३) गोनुरक्षमीलगृहतथेणीमित्रवलावामुराज्यथीः श्रीमहाराजशूरस्तस्य सत्यनु-
 (४) स्तायादामित्रगममप्रशस्तविमलमीलिमणिमेन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविभान्धन्वीराज इ-
 (५) व विदितविनयब्दवस्थाकर्त्ता परमभागवदः परमद्वद्वयवाराज्यः सेनावतिवराह-
 (६) दासस्तस्य मुतस्तत्वादरजोहणपविनीकृतविराजिन्वरोवनतशत्रुचूडामणिप्रभावि-
 (७) च्युरीतपादनस्यपदिवीषितिर्दीनानाथाधितोत्तिवास्ववजनोपजीव्यमानविभवविस्तरः
 (८) परमभागवदः श्रीमहाराजशूरस्तसानुजो नद्यक्षितवदानद्वाक्षिप्योत्ताहुरुपं
 (९) भस्तकलग्रामामलेन्हुरमलिन्हुणमूषणमैकृतयुगधर्मावम्लवी स्वचारु
 (१०) वीर्यावाहाराकाधिपतिः परमभागवदोनेकदेवकुलाराममहाविहारस[ञ]प्र-
 (११) पाकारथिता बुलित्युषितिराविवस्तवतः परगतवटानीकप्रम-
 (१२) इतः श्रीमहासामन्त महाराजवराहद्वासः-

PLATE B

- (१३) कुशली सर्वमेवामीवानानस्थानीयोपरिनकुमारामात्प्रकुलुत्र-
 क-महत्तरसान्धिविग्नहिकायुक्त-महत्तर[ग]व्यक्तिहस्तवद्वारोहादीन्सगाहापय-
 (१४) तस्यु वो विदितं यथास्मिन्नेव संशिकृष्टे श्रीमहाराजध्युवसेनप्रसादीकृतभ-
 द्वीपद्वयाने द्वयव्यक्त-कुद्विन्विप्रत्ययेष्यादाकृत्वात्तेत्तरस्या दिवि देववितान-
 (१५) क्षापामतीमात्तन्वी यस्य पूर्वतो महत्तरयेष्युपलक्षेत्रमारामस्य दक्षिणेन गो]क्षि-
 लानकसेत्रादुत्तरतः जारद्वयक्षेत्रपूर्वतः व्याणिजकाजित्पतलविहारमिष्ठुनीना
 (१६) चौक्तरपिष्ठपूर्तमभवत्वादाना च द्वृपदीपत्तिलालुपयादितं मदा मातापित्रो ए-
 (१७) तस्मधेभयलोकमुलयशसे आनन्दाकाण्डं द्विति समकालीनं समनुज्ञातं
 (१८) यते आगामिभद्राजमिस्सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमिच्छिद्वरवस्तमहाचोत्तम-
 (१९) नत्यः पूरपरालयित्वयेति यदीनमाच्छिद्वादाच्छिद्वामानं वानुमोदेत सप्तश्चित्त्वैह-
 (२०) पातकैस्त्वर्षकैस्त्वयिति [] पर्युषित्वसहस्राणि स्वर्णे नोदेति भूमिदः [] जात्येत
 चतु- सं १०० (+) ३० लिखितं भट्टिलेन
 (२१) मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति स्वहस्ते मम ॥
 (२२) स्वमुखादेशो मात्र हु ।

^१ Read ^०कुल०. ^२ The whole phrase ought to read as :— वेशेत्तुर्लकृत-
 पन्नमण्डलानोगसंसक्षितारक्षतलक्ष्यप्रतापः as in the Valabhi Grants. See Grant II
 L. 2. ^३ Read . . मणिन०. ^४ Read ^०विशाने. ^५ ^०अतिरापि as in Epigraphia Indica
 XI. p. 17. ^६ Read ^०भूपलः कु०. ^७ Read शतमुक्तस्या०. ^८ The whole
 phrase ought to be चौक्तरपिष्ठद्वात्तेत्तवनात्तन्मानप्राप्यव्येष्यातेपयाम-
 इति वाप्तो याम् etc. as in Grant II L. 22-23. ^९ Read वदाना०. ^{१०} Read तंपक्तस्या०. ^{११} नोदेति.
^{१२} स्वहस्तो नमः.

Grant No. II. Copper-plate grant of Śilāditya (I) alias Dharmāditya of the Gupta Samvat 287 (606 A. D.)

The two plates of this grant are engraved on one side only and have holes at the top and they are secured together by rings. The left hand ring bears an oval seal which has in relief on it the usual Bull Mark of the Valabhi rulers and the legend Śri Bhāṭṭārīkṣa. The plates are each $12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$. They are corroded in some places. But the rest of the portion is perfectly legible.

The grant is issued from Valabhi. It records the grant by Śilāditya alias Dharmāditya, of the village Niggudaka in the Ghāsaraka sub-division for procuring clothing, food, medicine etc. for the communion of Buddhist *nuns* residing in the Yaksha Śūra Vihāra, for sandal incense, flowers, etc. required for the worship of the Lord Buddha and for the repairs of the broken and fallen parts of the Monastery. From ll. 22-24, it seems that the Bhikṣus were dwelling in the Monastery built by Yaksha-Śūra their own being destroyed probably. The name of Guhasena immediately follows that of Bhāṭṭārīka in the genealogy, omitting four kings between them.

The officers mentioned in this grant are the Āyuktakas, Viniyuk-takas, Drāgikas, Mahattaras, Cūṭas, Bhaṭas, Kumārāmātyas and others.

The Dūtaka, who executed this grant is Bhāṭṭādityayaśas¹ and the war minister and chief secretary who wrote it is Vattrabhatti. It records the date Kartika Vadi 7 of the year 287 G. E.

GRANT NO. II
of Śilāditya I alias Dharmāditya of 287 G. E.

PLATE A

- (१) ओं स्वस्ति बलभितः प्रसनप्रणतामित्राणां मैषकाणामगुलबलसुपमण्डलामो [-नदेसत्तद्वारयत]
- (२) लभ्यतापात् प्रतापोपनत्तद्वानमानार्चवोपामित्रानुरागावनुरक्फमीलभृत [श्रेणीबला-वा]म् [राज्यविषयः]
- (३) परममाहेष्वरश्रीमदाकार्दद्यवच्छिन्नतराजवंशान्नातापितृचरणात्विन्दप्रणति-प्रविश्वाशेषकलम [यः]

1. It is only in the grants of G. S. 286 and 287 that the Dūtaka or the Executer of the grant is given as 'Bhāṭṭādityayaśas'. Usually in Valabhi grants, the Dūtaka is the Heir Apparent. Was Bhāṭṭādityayaśas his son, who probably died before his father? Śilāditya I was succeeded by his younger brother Kharagraha I. This Kharagraha appears as the Dūtaka in grants of G. E. 290 (Nos. III & IV). Two plates of Kharagraha I have been discovered in 1932 in Virdi under Lathi and at Amrelli. They have been deciphered by me.

2. Read इति-

VALA COPPERPLATE GRANTS

GRANT NO. II : VALA PLATES OF ŚILĀDITYA I, *alias* DHARMĀDITYA

287 G. E. (606 A. D.)



- (४) शैक्षणिकसुतिलक्ष्मितीयवाहुरेवसमदपरगवधास्कोठनप्रकाशितसत्त्वगिराइस्टट्र-
भावप्र-

(५) [ए]तारातिचूडारलप्रभासंसक्तपादवल्लरविमर्शैतिस्तक्लस्यृति प्रणीतमार्गसम्य-
क्यारिपालन-

(६) प्रवाहुवर्यरेण्यान्वैर्थराजशब्दःहयकानितस्यैर्येगाम्मीव्युक्तिसंपत्तिः स्मरशासाका-
विराजोद्-

(७) विनिवदशुष्ठुवनेश्वानतिश्वानवदारणागताभववदानपरताया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्त्वका-
र्यपक्षः]

(८) प्रात्विनाविकालव्यप्रदानालन्दितविद्वत्प्रथमविहृदयः पादचारीक सकलमण्डलाभेषप्र-

(९) [मो]दः परममाहेश्वरः श्री गुहसेनस्तस्य मुतस्तत्त्वादनवामयूक्तसन्तान—विसुद्धा-
—वानहवीबलीवचप्रक्षा-

(१०) लिताशेषवल्मीषः प्रगविश्वतसहस्रोपवीव्यक्तानसंपद्वूपलोभादिवाभितस्तरमालमालि-
गामिकैर्यु-

(११) नैसस [ह]वशान्तिविश्वाविशेष-विस्मापिताखिलवलाभनुर्वृद्धः प्रथमनरपतिरमतीच्छा-
नमनुपालयि-

(१२) तायम्बाद्वावानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपकातकारिणामुपज्ञवानो दर्शनिता श्रीसरसत्योदे-
कापिवासस्य संर्प-

(१३) तारातिपक्षक्षमीपरिमोगवक्षयिकमोविक्षमोपसंप्राप्तविमलयार्थिवश्वीः परममाहेश्वर-
श्रीधरसे-

(१४) नस्तस्य मुतस्तत्त्वादानुव्यातस्तक्लजगवानन्दनास्यमुत्तमुणसमुदायस्यनितसामग्रदि-
व्यक्तिः]

(१५) समरशतदिग्बयोगासनाधमदण्णाम्भुतिभाधुरतान्तेपीठोद्भुत्तमनोरथमहा-

(१६) भारतस्वर्विद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमातिरपि सर्वतस्मुभाषितलक्ष्मीपि द्वुखो-
पादनी-

(१७) यपरितोपसमप्रलोकागाधगाम्मीव्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तवरमकल्पायस्व-

(१८) भावःविश्वामुहुरुद्धुमानुपतीपवविशेषनाभिगतोदक्षकीतिर्मातुं [परो] खो [ञ्च]-

PLATE B

- (१९) [लतरी] कुलार्थमुखसंपत्पुरसेवानिहङ्ग धर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परमाहेश्वरः
[श्री

(२०) शीलावित्य-भु] शरी सर्वानेकाखुकगिनियुक्तकवाङ्गिकमहतशाठभट-
कुमारामात्मादी[वन्यांश]

(२१) यथासंबन्धमा-] कवचनमाझापयत्यहु वस्तविदितं यथामया मात्ताफितोऽपुण्ड्राप्या-
नवाय बल.....

^३ Read संस्कृतः० ^४ Read नवः० Similarly in other places. ^५ Read समाप्तिः० ^६ Read संगृह० ^७ Read नवरूपः० ^८ Read वृक्षम्०

- (२३) त.....शु [शी] संघस्येदानी तद्विहारस्थानामाचाच्छक्षद्वूरविहारेप्रतिवक्तव्
[श्वीकरपिण्डपातवायनासनन्दा]-
- (२४) नग्र[त्वयमैष्य]यपरिकारार्थं युदाना च भगवतो पूजाकृपनग्नवृप्युष्मात्य
दीपतैलाग्न्यपदोग्नाम [विहार]-
- (२५) स्वं च खाल्वस्फुटितप्रतिसंकरात्य धास्तरकपथकान्तर्गतो निश्चुलकप्रामः पूर्व-
सुकतमुञ्जयमानकः प्रनष्टा.....
- (२६) द्वितीयान्विष्य सोद्रवस्तोपरिकरसाधातभूतप्रत्यायः सधाम्यहित्यादेयः सद्वा-
पराधस्तोपद्वामातविष्टि:
- (२७) सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्वप्रत्तिवादेयवर्जितःभूमिच्छद्वन्द्यायैनाचनन्दा-
क्षीण्यविक्षितिस्त-
- (२८) रित्वर्वंतरामकालीनांश्चविक्षिलिनोम्यः चर्मादायत्वा पूर्ववत्समनुहातः यतोः
देवाभावादित्थला भुज्यमानको
- (२९) न कैवित्यारपन्थनीयः यामामिभावद्वृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्वृशजैरन्येन्द्रीओनित्याम्येष्वद्याप्य-
स्थिरे मानुष्यं सामान्यं
- (३०) च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छविरवमसमद्वयोनुमत्तत्वः परिपालयितव्यवेति ॥ बहुमि-
वैष्टुषा भुज्या रा-
- (३१) जनिस्तपरायितिः [।] दस्य चत्व चदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह
दातियाभवाप्तेन्द्रैर्देवानि भ-
- (३२) मर्मायानीकृतानि [।] निच्युक्तेमात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुऽपुनरादवीत ॥ पाटि
पर्युक्तहासागि स्वर्णे
- (३३) [मोहेत] भूमिदः [।] आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके नरोते ॥ दृष्टक-
आत्र भद्रावित्यवशाः लिखितं सन्निधि-
- [ग्रहाभिः-]हत दिवित्पतिवचाभद्विना ॥ सं २००(+)८०(+)७ कार्तिक न ५
॥ ओ ॥ स्वहस्तो नमः.

Grant No. III. Copper-plate grant of Śāraditya (I) alias Dharmāditya of the Gupta Sarvata 290 (609 A. D.)

The two plates that constitute this grant are as usual engraved on one side and are secured together by only one ring. There are two ring holes in each plate and the second ring is at present missing. The legend on the seal which is attached to the ring is blurred and consequently illegible. The plates are each 12" x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are in a perfectly good state of preservation.

The characters are of the usual type of the Valabhi plates. The consonant श (in l. 32) deserves notice.

^१ Read ^०दानी. ^२ Read ^०कालीनो^०. ^३ Read यतो. ^४ Read शी. ^५ Read
निच्युक्त. ^६ Read देवानि.

The grant is issued from the victorious camp at Bhadreśvara outside the Valabhi gate. We learn from it that Śilāditya granted the village of Amadāsaputra situated near Vaṭadraha in the province of Ghīṣaraka for defraying the expenses of various kinds (clothing, food, medicine, etc.) of the *muni*s that may come from the four quarters to the Monastery for *muni*s, built by Yaksha Śūra, situated inside Valabhi, for sandal, incense, flowers, etc., required for the worship of the Lord Buddha and for the repairs of the broken and the fallen parts of the Monastery.

The command is issued to all the Āyuktakas, Viniyuktakas, Drāḍgikas, Mahattaras, Cāṭas, Bhaṭas, Kumārīmatyas and to others as they may be concerned.

The Dūtaka is Śri Kharagrasha and Vatrabhaṭṭi is the minister of peace and war who wrote the grant.

The date is the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada of the Gupta Saṃvat 290. The date and the year are given in numerical symbols.

GRANT III OF G. E. 290
of Śilāditya I alias Dharmāditya.

PLATE A

- (१) ओं स्वस्ति विजयस्तन्यापाराद्भुलभीप्रद्वारभद्रे ब्रह्मवासकाक्षसमप्रणतामित्राणां
मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसौरग्र
—
- (२) मण्डलाभोगसंपत्तप्रद्वाराग्रात्तद्वच्चप्रतापाप्रतापोपनतदानमानार्द्धचोपार्जितानुरागाद-
तुरुक्षमौलम्—
- (३) तथेणीवलावापाराज्यथिकः परममाहेश्वर्याभिद्वार्द्धाद्व्यवच्छिन्नराजवद्वौन्माता-
पितृवरणारविन्दप्रणति-
- (४) प्रग्निधीताव्योपकल्पयः वैश्वावत्यमृति वज्राद्वितीयचाकुरैव समद्वरणजघटास्फोटन-
प्रकाशितसत्त्वानिकय
- (५) स्वात्रभावप्रकल्पारातिभूताल्प्रभासंसक्षापादनखररित्तिसंहृतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमागं-
सम्यक्परिपालन-
- (६) प्रजाहृदवरजानान्वर्थैराजवादः रुपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्युद्दिसम्पद्धिः स्वरशशा-
क्षाद्विराजोदपित्रि-
- (७) दशगुरुवेशाननित्ययानः यारणागताभयप्रश्नपरतया तृणवदपारुडाशेषस्वकाल्ये-
फल[.]ग्रार्थ्यनाथि-
- (८) कार्यप्रदलानान्वितविद्वस्तुहप्रणयिहृष्टः पादचारीक्षसकलभूवनमण्डलामोगग्रनोदः
परमामा—

^१ Read ^०वंका^०. ^२ Read ^०स्तुति^०. ^३ Read न्वर्थ.

- (९) हेशरः श्रीगुहसेनलतास्यमुत्तरतावदनक्षमवूच्चसन्तानविद्युतजाहवीजलौप्रक्षालि-
ताशेषकल्पवक्त्रविभिन्न-
- (१०) क्षतिसहव्योपदीव्यामानसामप्रदूपलोभादिवाचितः सरमस्याभिगामिकैर्मुण्डीस्वतंजशाहे-
विक्षाविशेष—
- (११) विस्मापिताविसिलवलथमुद्देशः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिग्राहनामलुपालविशी धर्मदाया-
नामयाकर्त्ता प्रक्षेप—
- (१२) शातकारिण्यमुपल्लवान्^१ दर्शकिता श्रीसरस्यात्येरेकायिवास्य संहतारातिप्रक्षल्लभी-
परिमोगवद्विषिक—
- (१३) मो विकमोपसंत्रासविमलयार्थिविभितः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनलतास्यमुत्तरतावदा-
नुपातस्तकलजयदा-
- (१४) नन्दनात्यनुलग्नुपसमुद्देश्वलितसमविद्युत्पद्म [ः] समरक्षताविजयशेभासनाथ-
मन्दस्ताप्रशुतिभासुरत-
- (१५) रान्तौपीठोद्युगुरुमहोरथमहाभारस्तर्विद्यापरावरदिभागायिगमविमलमहिरपि सञ्ज-
तस्तु-
- (१६) भाषितलवेनापिकुचोपपादनोवापरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्यंहृदयोऽपि सुच-
रितातिशयस्तु-
- (१७) व्यक्तारमकल्याणस्यभावः विलीभृतहत्युग्रहृपतिपथविशेषधनायिगतोदप्रकीर्ति
द्वैमाणीत्प्रतोषो-
- (१८) उवलटीकुलार्त्तमुखसम्बुद्धेनानिहृष्टधर्मर्मावित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः
श्रीइश्वारादित्य ॥ कुशली
- (१९) सञ्जीनेवायुक्तविमियुक्तकदा[६]गिकमहत्तशौलिकवोरोम[८]गिकचाठभटकुमा-
रुमात्यादीनन्योदय यथासंवर्जी-
- (२०) मानकान्समाहापयत्यस्तुवस्त्वविदिते यथा मत्वा मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाम

PLATE B

- (२१) वलभीस्वतलनिविष्ट्यद्वारुकारितनिर्मुणिविहारे तप्तिवासिचतुदिशेभ्याग-
तायामिकुणीसहस्र चीवरपिण्डपत्तशयनामानवग्नानप्रत्ययमैषज्य-
- (२२) परिकारोपयोगात् कुदानां च भगवतां पूजास्तपत्तगम्भपुष्पमालदीपतैलाद्यप्य-
विच्छिन्नतये वि-
- (२३) हारस्य च लक्ष्मस्फुटितप्रतिसंकारात् घासरकपथके बट्टद्रहप्रत्यासनम्
[अमदासपुत्र] ग्रा-
- (२४) महसोद्रवस्त्रोपरिकरस्वातमूत्रप्रत्ययः सथान्यहिरण्यवेदः सद्वापराधः सोत्य-
- (२५) मानविष्ट्यस्तर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्वप्रत्यवहावेयवर्जितःभूमि(च्छ)इ-
- (२६) [न्या]मेनाचन्द्राकांण्डवस्त्रिसरित्यर्व्वतसमकाळीनः विहारार्थ्यनिकुणीसंघोषभोग्य[ः]

^१ Read ^०शक्ति०. ^२ Read ^०पत्तुर्ष्वर०. ^३ ^०वालविता०. ^४ ^०पाविवर्णी०.
५ Read ^०राह०. ६ Read ^०र्वैमाण०. ७ Read ^०तंत्रश्व०. ८ Read ^०निकुणी०.
९ Read ^०दिशा०.

କାନ୍ତିରାଜରେ
ପ୍ରମାଣିତ ହୁଏ
କାନ୍ତିରାଜରେ
ପ୍ରମାଣିତ ହୁଏ

- (२८) [धर्म]दायोविसुष्टः यत् परिलिखितस्थित्या मुख्यमानको न केविद्वासेधर्मीयः आगा-
- (२९) मिभ्रहृपतिभिरप्यसमद्वै जेरन्वैवर्वा भैनित्यान्वैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं भावुच्यं सामान्यं च भू-
- (३०) [मिदा] नक्षलमवाच्छादित्यमसम्भायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यदेत्युक्तौ च भगवता
- (३१) वेदव्याचेन व्याचेन [।] बहुमित्यसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगराधिभिः [।] वस्य यस्य वदाभूमिः*
- (३२) तैस्य तस्य तदा कल्प् ॥ यानीह शारिषभयान्नरेन्द्रदंतानि धर्मांवतानीकृतानि [।] निर्भुव् [क]
- (३३) मात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुरुनराददीत [॥] वहि वैपत्तहसानि स्वगें मोदैति [भू]
- (३४) गिदः [।] वाञ्छेता चाहुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥ वृत्ताकथात्र शीखरडाहः ॥
- (३५) लिखिते सन्धिविश्वापिकृतदिविष्ठतिवत्तभाट्टिना ॥ सं २००(+)९० भाद्रपद बहुल ७
- (३६) स्वहस्तो मम ॥

Grant No. IV. Copper-plate grant of Śilāditya (I) also known as Dharmāditya of the Gupta Samvat 290.

The plates are as usual secured together with copper rings passed through holes at the edges. The seal that is attached to the left hand ring bears the usual Bull Emblem and the inscription ŚRĪ Bhātārkkaḥ. Each of the plates measures 14" x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The plates are in a very bad state of preservation and one cannot read them except with the help of other published grants of the rulers.

The usual Valabhi characters show a peculiar bhā (l. 15) with a vowel mark at the bottom of the right hand part of 'bh' instead of to the right of the top.

The grant is issued from Valabhi. Śilāditya granted the village of Danturāptra situated in the township of Maṇḍalī to two Brahmins Mitrafārman and Gapeśvara, sons of Rudrasārman who belonged to the Audareṣāṇi Gotra and who came from Daśapura and resided at Valabhi.

Daśapura is the present Mandasur in Malwa. (Gwalior territory)

The Dūtaka is Kharagraha and the grant is written by Vatrabhāṭṭi minister of peace and war. The date is the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the year 290 G. E.

* Read °वंशजै°. १ Read वा. २ Read भूमिस्तत्व०. ४ Read विस्तुक. ५ Read वर्ष०. ६ Read मोदेत.

GRANT IV OF G. E. 290.

of Śīlāditya I.

- (१) ओ स्वस्ति बलभितैः प्रसम्प्रणालामित्राणा मैत्रकाणामनुलब्धसंप्रभमण्डलानोह-
संसर्ग [३]
- (२) हारशतलव[ब्रह्मता]पाद्यतापोषगतवानभागार्च्छेषोपाज्ञितानुरागादनुरक्ष्मौलभृतये-
- (३) गीवद्वावासर[व्यविधि]य[ः३]रमनाहेश्वरश्रीभट्टाक्षीदद्व्यवच्छित्तराजवद्वृग्मालापितृ-
वरण-
- (४) रविन्दप्रणालिप्र [विवौ]ताशेषकत्वयः [वैश्वाल्यभिति] सज्जद्विर्तीयथाहुरेव समदार-
गवध-
- (५) दास्कोटनप्रकाशितस्वलिकप्रस्तादेभावप्रणालारातिभूडारलप्रभासंसाक्षपादनलरक्षि-
संहृतिः
- (६) सकलस्थृतिप्र[वी]तमार्गात्म्यापरिपालन प्रजाहृद[३]रजनान्वैरीराजशर्वः स्व-
कानितस्वैर्वीर्यविगा-
- (७) [मी]र्यवुद्दिसेपद्धिः स्वरशशाङ्कादिराजोदधित्रिशत्पुरुषमेशानतिशयानः शरणाग-
ताभ्यप्रदानय-
- (८) रत्या तु ग्रन्थपास्तोशेषस्वकार्यकलः [३]प्रात्येनाविकार्त्येष्वदानातन्विद्वानुहृत्यत्र-
पिहृदयः पाद-
- (९) [वारी]त्र सकलसुखनमण्डलानोगप्रनोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य मुल-
स्तत्पादनसम्बू-
- (१०) चसन्नानिदिलाजाहृषीजलीप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्पयःप्रविशतासहस्रोपजीव्यमानसौप-
- (११) द्वूपलोभाविद्वाग्निः सरमसमाभिग्निकर्त्तृणसहजाभिक्षिकाविशेषविसापिता-
विलम्बविद्वान्वृत्तैः
- (१२) ग्रन्थसनरपति समलिखितानामनुपालयिता धर्मदावानामपाकर्त्तौः प्रजोपघातकारिणा-
मुपशब्दा-
- (१३) ना दर्शयिता ध्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाविष्वासस्य [३]हलातालिपक्षलिपिःपरिभोगदक्षविकासो
विक्षमोपसंप्राप्त-
- (१४) विमलपार्विवर्धिः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य मूलस्तत्पादानुभ्यातस्तवल-
क्षादानन्दनात्यनुहृत-
- (१५) गुणसमुदयस्थगितसमप्रदिव्यण्डलः [३] समरशतविजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रसुतिमा-
मुरलरूपन्मिष्ठो-
- (१६) द्वृग्मुखस्तोरथमहाभावारस्तर्व्यविद्यापरावरविभागापिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्वतस्तुभावि-
तक्षेत्रापि सु-
- (१७) [वो]मपादनोपपरितोषः समप्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयमुव्यक-
पर [मक्ष्या]

^१ Read एवर्यतः, ^२ Read ओङ्क्षाऽ, ^३ Read ऊन्धौ, ^४ Read ओश्वौ, ^५ Read ओक्तौ, ^६ Read ओक्तमीपरिऽ, ^७ Read ओवीः, ^८ Read ओरांसः,

ମୁଖ୍ୟମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ ପତ୍ର

PLATE B

- (१०) षस्त्रमावः त्रिभिर्भूतहृष्टपुष्पतिपथविशोषनाभिगतोद्यक्षीलिर्भर्मानुपरोयोज्वल-
[तरी]-
- (११) कृतार्थसुखसंपद्युपसेवानिहृतधर्मादित्यहितीयनामैः परवगाद्येष्वः श्रीशीरु-
दित्य [-कुश]र्णा-
- (१२) सच्चांनेवायुक्तकविगियुक्तकाग्निकमहत्तरसौनिककचौरोद्धरणिकचादभृत्कुमारामात्या-
दीनन्याध यथा संघष्यमावकान्ता-
- (१३) माङ्गापयन्यस्तुवस्तुविदितं यथा मता मातापित्रोऽपि पुण्यात्याकाश्य दशापुर-
विनिर्भातवलभिर्वौलत्याव्याव्याचातु
- (१४) विवक्षामान्यांदैरेषविसिसोवद्यन्देशसवद्याचाविवाहणकद्वार्हार्जपुत्रवाद्याणमित्र-
शार्म्मिगणोश्वराम्यां
- (१५) मण्डलीद्वये दन्तुराषुष्मद्रामस्तोव्रकः सोपरिकरः सवात्भूतप्रत्याश्यः सधाम्य-
हिरव्यादेय[]
- (१६) यदवापापराथः सोत्यधानविद्धिः सर्वराजकायानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीकः पूर्वप्रस्तावाप-
देयवर्जितोऽभ्-
- (१७) विन्युद्दलन्यगेनाचन्द्रार्ज्ञविलिपिरितसमकालीनः पुर्वीत्रान्वयमोग्य उद्काति-
समोगधम्मे-
- (१८) दायतया निर्वृष्टः यतोनयोः उचितया अद्यादेयस्विस्यत्योः भुजतोः कपेयतोः
प्रदिशतो व्यां न कैविद्य व्यासे [चे]-
- (१९) वर्तितन्यमागामिभद्रपुष्पतिभिर्यासमद्वृश्चैरन्यैव्यांडनियान्यैश्वर्यांश्वस्थिरं मातुष्यं
सामान्यं च भूमिदानात्
- (२०) लभवगच्छद्विरुद्यमसद्वयोद्युग्मनाश्यः परिपालयितव्यव्येत्यु[कं]य भगवता वैद-
व्यानोन्न व्यासेन:
- (२१) वहुंभव्यसुधा भुर्णाः राजभिस्सकराधिभिः [१] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित्तस्य तस्य
तदा फैल ॥ यानीह दारित्य-
- (२२) भवाजरेन्द्रवर्द्ध[ना]नि घर्मायतनीकृतानि [१] निमुक्तैः माल्यप्रतिबानि तानि को नाम
सातुः पुनराददीत ॥ [१]
- (२३) तिवर्णेयहत्याग्नि स्वर्णे मोदैति भूमिदः [१] आच्छेता चाकुमन्ता च तान्येष
नरके वये[त्] ॥ दृष्टकथाप्र धी
- (२४) स्वरप्रहः विविलं सन्धिविग्रहाभिष्ठृतदिविरपतिव्यक्तभृष्टिना ॥ च २००(+)
१० भाद्रपद शु १०
- (२५) स्वहस्ती मम ॥

^१ Read लिन्देभूत. ^२ Read नाना. ^३ Read लभाऽ. ^४ Read निरुद्दी.

^५ Read the words without Visarga. ^६ Read वेदव्यासेन. ^७ The Visarga after व्यासेन is either wrong or is a mark of full stop (?). ^८ Read नुक्ता. ^९ Read लय १० ^{१०} Read कलम् ॥ ^{११} Read निर्मुक्त १२ मोदैत.

Grant No. V. Copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena (II) of the Gupta Samvat 319 (638 A. D.)

These two plates which measure $12\frac{1}{2}$ " by $8\frac{1}{2}$ " are secured by one ring which is passed through the holes on the left side of the top. The ring through the right hand holes is missing. This grant is very badly preserved.

The characters show in L. 43 consonant 't' with a stroke at the top.

The grant is issued from victorious camp at (?). It records that Dhruvasena granted the village of Nagadinnānaka in the Rohāṇaka province in Surāṣṭra for procuring clothing, food, medicine, etc., for the communion of Buddhist *nuns* (living) in the Vihāra built by Pūrnabhaṭṭā and situated within the precincts of Yaksha Śūra Vihāra in the vicinity of Valabhi and for sandal, flowers, incense, lamp, etc., for the worship of the Lord Buddha and for the repairs of the broken and fallen parts of the Monastery. Purnabhaṭṭā was born in the respectable family of Sāmantā Kakkuka's mother.

The Dūtaka in this matter was Sāmantā Śīlāditya and the grant was written by Skandabhaṭṭā on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha of the year 319 of the Gupta Era.

This grant is important in as much as it gives a new date of the Valabhi rulers, the other years of this ruler being 310*, 312†, 313‡, 320§, 321††.

GRANT V.

of Dhruvasena II. G. S. 319.

- (१) ओ...सिंगरस्कन्धापारा.....भद्र. रंक (?) वासकात् प्रसभप्रणतमिचार्य
मित्रकाणामतुलवलसंपद्रमण्डलामोगसंसक्त [ग]हार-
- (२) क्षत्तलम्ब प्रतापात्प [तापोप] न [त] दानमानार्जीवीपाविंतामुरागावदुरक्षमौङ-
स्तुतेणीवलावास्त्रा [ज्व] अियः परमादे-
- (३) अर्हीभद्राकार्कवल्लवच्छिक्षकराजनद्वैशान्मातापितृवरणातिप्रविधीताशो-
यकलमध्यः [वी] शब्दाप्रभृति स [अद्वितीयशाहु] रेव

* Indian Antiquary, VI, 13.

† Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, I, 69.

‡ Ibid., I, 50.

§ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XX. 6, Epigraphia Indica VIII, 188.

†† Epigraphia Indica VIII, 194.

‡ Read "द्वैश".

- (४) समदपरग्रामवटास्कोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकयस्तत्त्वभाप्रकलारतिचूडारत्नप्रभासंस्कृत-
पादनस्तरनिमसं [हति: सकल] ३ [नृ] तित्र [षी]-
- (५) तमार्गीतस्यवरिपादनप्रजाहृष्यरञ्जनान्वत्प्रताजनशब्दे लग्नान्तिस्तर्व्यगम्भीर्या-
कुदिसंपत्तिः स्मरणशा [शूर्वि] रा [लौ] दधि [वि] दश्म-
- (६) रघनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्यफले
प्रा[त्वं]नाधि [कार्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्] त्वह-
- (७) अणविहृष्यः पादचारीक सकलभुवनमश्वलभोगप्रमोहः परमगाहेश्वरः भीशुहसेन-
स्तास्य मु [तस्तत्पादनखनशूत्स] नाम-
- (८) विस्तजाहवीजलौष्ठप्र[क्षा]हिताशेषकल्पयः प्रणविकलसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसमद्भु-
पलोभादिवावितः [सरभ]समाभिमानिकै
- (९) गृणैस्त्वहजयाणिकिञ्चाविदेषविसापिताकिलभन्तुर्देवः प्रथमवरपतिसमातिस्तुष्टानामनु-
पालयिता भम्पीदाया[नामपा]कर्त्ता प्रजोऽ-
- (१०) वातकारिणसुप्रस्थानो दर्शकिता भीसरस्वत्योरेकापिवासस्य चहुतारातिपक्षतक्षी-
परिमोगदधा[वि]कमो विक्षेपसंप्राप्त-
- (११) विमलपार्थिवधीः परमगाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यमुत्तस्तापादानुष्टातस्ताकल जग-
दानन्दनात्प्रतुत गुणसमूद-
- (१२) यस्थगितसमप्रविक्ललस्तमरद्वात्तविजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाप्रशुतिभास्तुरतरान्सवी-
ढोहुगुरुमनोरथमहा-
- (१३) भारस्तर्व्यविद्यापारापरविभागाधिगमलिमलमहिरपि सर्वतः सुभाषितज्ञेनापि मुखोप-
[पा]दनीयारितोऽपि समप्रलो-
- (१४) कागाष्ठोर्भीर्यहृष्योपि मुचितिलिकायमुव्यक्तपरमकल्पागस्वभावः शिर्णिभूत-
कृतप्राप्तिपदविदोधनाधिगतोदय-
- (१५) क्वातिर्दर्माङ्गुपरोदोन्वलतरीकृतार्थमुख्यसम्पुष्पसेवानिरुद्धरमर्मादित्य द्वितीय
नामा [पर]ममहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्त्वानु-
- (१६) जस्तत्पादानुष्टातः स्वयम्भुपेन्द्रगुणोष गुणात्प्रायादरवता समभिलक्षणीयावपि रात्र-
लक्ष्मी स्कन्धासकां परमानन्द इव भूष्य-
- (१७) स्तदाङ्गासम्यादैकरसतैवोद्दह (न)केषमुखरतिभ्यामनावासितसत्त्वसम्पत्तिः प्रभा-
वसम्पद्वशीकृतनूपतिशताशिरोरत्न-
- (१८) च्छायोपगुणादपादीठो[पि]परावल्लभिमानरसा[नालिले]तमनोषुष्टिः प्रणविगेकां परि-
त्वज्ञ प्रणवातपीद्यामिमानैरप्यराति-
- (१९) गिर्वाल्लादित्यशीविवायः कृतानिसिलभुवनामोदिविमलगुणसंहृतिः [:-] प्रसभविष-
टितसकलकलिविलक्षितगतिर्नार्थ-
- (२०) नवाधिरोहिमिरवेण्होर्यरजामृष्टासुप्र[त]हवदः प्रस्थातपीद्यालकौशलातिशयगण-
तिथविपक्षास्त्रिलिपतिलक्ष्मी-स्वर्णग्र-

^१ Read ^०कलः. ^२ Read संहात्. ^३ Read ^०तरांस०. ^४ Read गाम्भीर्य.

^५ Read ^०परोषो०. ^६ Read संहिति. ^७ Read ^०नीच०. ^८ Read ^०दीपि०.

- (२१) हृप्रकावितप्रमाणीरपुष्पयत्रथगसंह्याधिगमः परमामाहेश्वरः श्रीस्वरप्रहस्तस्य तनय स्तत्सादाकुम्भात्तस्त-
- (२२) कलविद्याधिगमविहितनिषिलविद्वन्मनःपरितोषातिशय [:] सत्त्वसंपदा लागौ-दायेंग च विगताकुसम्भानो-

PLATE B

- (२३) ईमाहितरातिप्रकामनोरथाक्षमज्ञस्तस्यगुप्तलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकविरितगीहे- विभागोपिपरमम-
- (२४) द्रप्रकृतिरकुम्भिप्रभयविनयशोभाविभूपृणस्तमरक्षातजयपताकाहरणप्रत्येलोद्ग्रवाहु-
- (२५) दण्डविध्वंनिषुतनिषिलप्रतिप्रकामपूर्वोदयः स्वघनुःप्रभावपविभूताकौशलामिमाम- सकलगृहपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दिताकासनः
- (२६) परमामाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्याकुञ्जस्तत्सादाकुम्भातः सत्त्वारितातिशयितस्तत्त्व- पूर्ववरपतिरतिकुस्ताथानामपि प्रसारविद्य(तो)-
- (२७) विशयाणां मूर्तिमानिव पुष्पवकारः परिषुद्धणामुरागनिर्भीरपित्ताकृतिभिर्मौत्रिव स्वयमन्युपानः प्रकृतिभिरविशयकला-
- (२८) कलापः कान्तिमार्तिर्वृत्तिहेतुरकलः कुमुदवायः प्राज्यप्रतापस्वविशादिनान्तरात्म- प्रध्य[निषिल]व[वा]न्तराशिः सत[तो]वित्तस्तविता
- (२९) प्रकृतिभ्यः परिप्रत्ययमर्थवन्मनविनिच्छुतिप्रवयोजनाकुञ्जस्तमापमवरिपूर्ण विदधानः सन्धिविप्रहृसमाक्षिगिथय-
- (३०) निषुणः स्वानेतुरुक्षमावेद्या ददकुणशुद्धिविधानविनितसंस्कारः साधूना राज्यसालाकु- रीयतन्त्र[वोक्षयो]पि[निषिलातः]
- (३१) प्रकृष्टविक्षेपिव कलागम्भुद्वहयः क्षुलवानव्यगर्भितः कान्तोपि प्राणीमी द्विवसी- हृदैव्योपि निरचिता [दोषवता]मुदवसन-
- (३२) यसमुष्टविनितजननताकुम्भापरिपिहितमुक्तस्तमार्तितप्रायिताकालादित्यहितीयनामा परा[म]माहेश्वरः श्रीकृष्णसेन[कुशली]
- (३३) सब्बानेव यथासम्बलैमानकान्तमामाप्यत्यस्तु यस्त्वंविदेत यथा मवा मातापितोऽ पुण्याप्यायनाय वाल[भ्या-भ्यासे]सत्त्विष्य यक्षक्षरविहार-
- (३४) मन्डले सामन्तकाकुवमानुकूलपुनिकापूर्णभट्टाकारितपित्तारनेवातिनानादिग- भ्यामातार्बिभुष्णीसंसाक नीवरपिष्ठवात्प्र-
- (३५) यनात्तनग्लानभैयज्यायात्मै युद्धानां च भगवतो गन्धुष्टपूर्वदीपतैलाहर्थ विहारस्य च खन्दस्तुटितप्रति[सुर्क]-
- (३६) रणाय च सुराप्तेषु दोहाणकपयके नागादिभ्रानकमामसोद्भवस्तोपरिकरस्त- भूतवातप्रत्यावस्त[धा]-

^१ Read विगताकुसम्भानसमा.^२ Read °गड.^३ Read °प्रथयो. ^४ Read °विष्विति^५. ^६ Read °परिपूर्ण.^७ Read प्रसारविद्या. ^८ Read °निर्भृत.^९ Read °रुद्राद्याकामा.^{१०} Read प्रशमा. ^{११} Read °सौक्रियोपि. ^{१२} Read °हन्त्यय.

- (३७) नाहिरप्यादेयः सदशापरापः सोत्पदमानविडीकः सर्वराजकोवानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीः
पूर्वदत्तेऽन्[व]-
- (३८) द्वावेयरहितः भूमिचित्तदन्यायेनाचन्द्राकार्णवक्षितिसरित्पञ्चासमकालीन उदकाति-
सगोण धर्मवायतया निश्चैः-
- (३९) [य]तोस्योदितया देवापहरस्थित्वा भुजतः कृष्टतः प्रविशतो वा न
कैविद् व्यासेषे वर्तितव्यामात्मामिमद्गृहपति-
- (४०) भिरप्यसाहृदौजैरन्वैव्यावौ वैनिलान्वैधृत्याणि अस्थिरं मात्रुं सामान्यं च
भूमिदानफलमवश्चल्लिखतमस्मद्वावेऽनुम-
- (४१) नाव्यऽपरिवालगितव्यवेत्तुको च वहुविवैसुषा भुजा राजामिस्तसगतादिभिः[]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा [फलम्] []
- (४२) [वानी]ह वारिवभ[ना]प्ररेत्वैर्वनानि धर्मायतनीकृतानी [] निर्वृत्य-
माल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साकुः पुनरावदीत [] [वर्षित-
(४३) हस्ताणि स्वर्णं [वोदेत] [भवि] दः [] आण्डेत्ता चलुन्मता च तान्वेष नरके
वसेत् [] वहुकोन्च सामन्तशीलादित्यः लिखित[मि]
- (४४) [दसंविधि]विभ्रहापिकृत विविषति[चन्द्र]भद्रिषुत्रिविरपतिस्तंक [न्द्रम्]
देवं सं १००[+] १०[+]५ औषु शु ५ स्वहस्तो मम,

A. S. GADRE.



^१ Read विदये. ^२ Read वंचयते; ^३ Read वं। ^४ Read वृप्तिविशिष्ट,
^५ Read च। ^६ Read विशुक.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT: ITS IMPLICATIONS AND EXTENT

It is necessary at the outset to explain briefly why the word 'parliamentary', in preference to 'responsible', or 'cabinet', government is chosen to describe a well-distinguished form of political organisation which obtains in its most successful condition in the United Kingdom. The term responsible is very widely used in England and in other parts of the British Empire. It brings out in a prominent way the dependence of the executive government which is a characteristic feature of parliamentary systems. But it leaves the nature of that dependence altogether vague, as it is not clear, from the mere phrase responsible, to whom the responsibility is owed. This is not a mere verbal drawback. Several competent persons¹ have claimed that the administrative system in the United States is responsible inasmuch as both the legislature and the executive are answerable to the people. Thus not only parliamentary but elective popular executives also can in the literal sense be called responsible. As the supremacy of the legislature over the executive is not properly conveyed by the term responsible government it is best to avoid the use of that phrase. The term cabinet government brings out prominently the departmentalisation which is a very striking feature of parliamentary executives. The collective nature of executive authority is also adequately conveyed by the term cabinet. But the dependence of the executive, for its existence and policy, on the legislature is left unspecified in speaking of cabinet government. Moreover, the heads of the executive departments in the American type of government are often² collectively described as cabinets; and hence to avoid confusion it is advisable to drop that term altogether in describing one particular form of government. We are thus left with parliamentary government as the proper and distinctive description of the form of government prevalent in a large number of countries of which England is the oldest and the most successful example.

A critical study of the parliamentary form of government is of special importance to all interested in the working of political institutions. It is a widely prevalent system of ordering the legislative and executive structure of the state. Modern democratic government has

1. Cf. E. M. Wrong: *Charles Buller, and Responsible Government*, p. 99.

2. J. A. R. Marriott: *Mechanism of the Modern State*, Vol. II, p. 101; and Lord Bryce: *Modern Democracies*, Vol. II, p. 44.

been made operative through this form over a wide area.¹ It might be said with sufficient approximation to accuracy that excepting Canada the whole of the American continent is under the presidential, or congressional form of government. This form is typified in the United States, as the parliamentary one is found in its best condition in the United Kingdom. In the rest of the civilised world almost all democratic constitutions, before the recent rise of dictatorships, were parliamentary. Japan, Australia and New Zealand, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, the smaller Balkan states and Austria had all parliamentary governments in one shape or another. The comparatively peaceful and progressive career that parliamentary government has had in Great Britain has endowed that form with a peculiar attraction and prestige. Even before the Great War constitutional writers and politicians looked to England for a supply of suitable democratic models. The French constitution under the Third Republic was deliberately copied from the English type though certain special features were introduced from American and previous French experience.

As by all accounts the parliamentary form of government has proved a great success in its land of origin it has been voted a distinct failure in many continental countries. In the large number² of democratic constitutions that were framed in Europe after the Treaty of Versailles the parliamentary system was adopted as an almost indispensable plank. This enthusiasm for the English model was rather surprising in view of the comparatively disappointing experience of two of the leading continental democracies, France and Italy. But the influence of President Wilson and of the British statesmen dominating the Peace Conference was actively used in support of local parties, in the vanquished and newly created states in Central and Southern Europe, who favoured the adoption of parliamentary government. Only a few years of actual trial of that form was enough to disillusion the politicians in the newer states of their enthusiasm for the English system. A very severe reaction against parliamentary government is now visible in many countries, if not in all. In Italy and Germany the parliamentary form is now superseded by altogether different politics. Both Fascism and Bolshevism are based on a protest³ against the supremacy of representative legislatures and the government by party majorities. A very strong

1. See Appendix.

2. Germany, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Greece.

3. "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and oppress the people through parliament—this is the real essence of middle class parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary and constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics." Lenin: *State and Revolution*.

movement towards constitutional reform is going on in France. More or less open dictatorships are installed in many of the smaller European states. Even in Great Britain responsible and sober writers like Mr. G. D. H. Cole and Mr. Sydney Webb (Lord Passfield) are putting forward alternative schemes of government. Parliamentary government is at present under searching criticism of politicians, reformers, and constitution makers. The general cry against democracy is most insistent in respect of its parliamentary manifestation. It is curious that while in the rest of the civilised world parliamentary government is on its defence, here in India¹ it is being deliberately promoted as the only channel through which enfranchised Indians will be enabled to influence the course of their country's administration. Hardly a single writer on the constitutional problems of India, excepting the declared opponents of political reform, has seriously questioned the suitability of parliamentary government for our people. This is, at any rate at first sight, rather unexpected. Great theoretical and practical interest thus attaches to the study of parliamentary government at the present moment.

The working of parliamentary government in different lands is characterised by so many local and special features that a general description of what parliamentary government means is likely to be misleading. Not only the laws and usages of the constitution, but the actual political practices of different countries enter very vitally into the functioning of the parliamentary system. For careful students of political institutions it is, therefore, necessary to distinguish between essential and non-essential features of parliamentary government. It must be readily admitted that many of the so-called non-essential features are so inherently implied in the existence of parliamentary government that they deserve to be specially classed, as distinguished from other non-essential features which are more or less accidental and variable. Thus we might hope to indicate all the features of constitutional and political practice associated with parliamentary government under three headings, essential, inferred or implied, and accidental or variable, not forgetting that in reality the dividing line between these classes is extremely uncertain.

The functions of government are generally divided into three classes legislative, executive and judicial. It is the common practice of all constitutional governments, and especially of democracies, to create for the judiciary a position of comparative independence. The legislature makes the laws which the judges interpret and apply. The executive appoints the judges but assures them of substantial independence of position and of internal administration. These conditions of independence are secured in different countries in varying measures and through varying legal provisions and practical usages. But the substantial

1. Preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919.

independence of the judiciary is now a generally accepted constitutional principle, applicable to all constitutionally, and in particular democratically governed countries. The constitutional position of and mutual relations between the two other organs of the state, the legislature and the executive, are matters on which the practice of modern democracies is sharply divided. Whether the legislature and the executive being independent of each other and supreme in their respective spheres should be alike answerable to the enfranchised people, or whether the two being clearly distinguished for practical action should still be under the guidance and control of the majority in the legislature are alternative choices which are open to democracies. According as they choose the first or the second of these courses they are entitled to be called presidential or parliamentary governments respectively.

The first essential feature of parliamentary government is the realisation of the control of the legislature over both the making and the enforcement of laws. No government which is not under parliamentary authority in its dual aspect of making and enforcing of laws can be called by the significant title parliamentary government. As in this form of government executive policy and acts of the supreme administrative authority have to be under the direct control of the legislature it is essential that the latter should have complete freedom in the appointment and dismissal of the executive heads, ministers or councillors. Effective control over executive policy cannot conceivably be attained without at the same time securing the appointment of suitable agents for the carrying out of that policy. As the parliament is thus placed in supreme charge of the policy and acts of the administration it insists upon exacting responsibility to itself for every act of the State from some determinate person or body of persons vested with executive authority. In a parliamentary government no immunity can be pleaded by any minister of the State against disciplinary action by the legislature. Legislative supremacy over both the making and enforcement of laws, appointment and removal of the ministers at the discretion of the legislature, and a determinate and unconditional responsibility owed to the legislature by all ministers for their official acts are the three essential attributes of parliamentary government. Under varying forms and practices all the parliamentary governments satisfy these common requirements.

The complete enforcement of parliamentary control over the execution of State policy involves a number of important conditions the existence of which is implied in and can be inferred from the three essential features noted above. It has been stated by some well qualified constitutional writers¹ that the adoption of a parliamentary

1. Bonn: *Crisis in European Democracy*, p. 5.

form of government does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a democracy. There are very few and comparatively unstable instances which can be adduced to support this view. Between the years 1688 and 1832 England was steadily developing the parliamentary form of government, and for the last hundred years of this period it can be said that the mechanism of parliamentary government was in operation in that country. The British Parliament during that period, however, was representative of only a small section of the community. This exclusive character of the parliament was due, firstly, to the hereditary composition of the upper house, secondly, to the restricted franchise of the lower one and, thirdly, to the antiquated distribution of seats in the latter. English Government during those years can be correctly described as a parliamentary oligarchy. It is possible to trace parallel instances in later and even contemporary experience. The government of Hungary till the adoption of universal suffrage and the restricted responsibility introduced in the Indian provincial executives are handy examples to support the proposition that the parliamentary mechanism can exist in the absence of popular sovereignty.

The question as to the compatibility of parliamentary government with non-democratic legislatures would turn on our version of the significance of democracy. If universal suffrage or a suffrage that would extend at least theoretically to the whole of the adult population of a state, were held to be essential for the existence of a democracy the claim to that title of even such states as France, Switzerland and many of the American states would hang in the balance. In the first two of the abovementioned states women are not entitled to vote and in the third, by an ingenuous manipulation of the franchise, members of the coloured races are kept out of the pale of enfranchised citizens. Undoubtedly such practices constitute a drawback from the strict requirements of democracy. It may be plausibly claimed that any government in a civilised country which is not based on the constitutional freedom of all of its adult citizens has elements of exclusiveness and instability in its composition. Instability in a constitution, it must be stated, might conceivably be caused as much by too general an adoption of the principle of adult suffrage as by a too restricted franchise. Every nation tries to strike the balance between freedom and stability in as effective a fashion as possible and so long as the constitutionally expressed consent of the governed is the professed goal and the guiding principle of a government the term democratic might with adequate justification be employed in describing it. Parliamentary government is an outcome of the triumph of rule by conference and law over the rule by prerogative and force. In accepting this principle the

essential claim of democracy is conceded. In spite of their several shortcomings as judged from the standard of a given ideal of democracy, it must be said that all parliamentary governments are in principle democratic.

These remarks get added significance when it is remembered that under a parliamentary form of government the ultimate responsibility of the executive is to the electors, though the representative legislature normally and continuously acts as the accredited agent of its popular masters. Dr. Finer in his recent publication on the Theory and Practice of Modern Governments elucidates¹ the point as follows : "The legislature is responsible to the people, the cabinet is responsible to the legislature and the people. They are one body at different stages of leadership ; but in the straight line of ascent from the people." From an occasional mandate secured from the electors, under all kinds of varying practices of majority and minority representation, to the unresisting allegiance of the unenfranchised groups is virtually a small step though it might loom large in purely theoretical discussions.

If it is conceded, as all political realists will readily do, that the responsibility of the cabinet in a parliamentary government is ultimately and fundamentally to the people and only immediately to the legislature a very important question would arise with regard to the right of dissolving the elected chambers before the expiry of their normal period. It is generally held that such a right should be virtually possessed by the ministry, who can always appeal to the voters from the legislature if in its opinion the latter has ceased to voice correctly the wishes of the electorate. Among the older parliamentary governments France is an exceptional case as the ministers in that country cannot bring about a premature dissolution of the popular house without the concurrence of a two-thirds majority in the second chamber.² But even in the other parliamentary countries it is felt that some check must be exercised over too easy a resort to dissolution by disgruntled ministers. The head of the state, who is necessarily shorn of all responsibility for law-making and administration, as he acts in

1. p. 166.

2. For the contrary view see Laski's contribution on the Government of Great Britain in Vol. VII of the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences where he observes, "It is almost certain that he (the King) could not refuse dissolution to a prime minister who asked for it." The view adopted in this article is supported by several eminent constitutionalists and practical statesmen. Cf. J. A. R. Marriott Op. Cit., Vol. II, pp. 34-35, where Asquith's opinion is quoted as follows— "it does not mean that the Crown should act arbitrarily and without the advice of responsible ministers but it does mean that the Crown is not bound to take the advice of a particular minister to put its subjects to the tumult and turmoil of a series of general elections so long as it can find other ministers who are prepared to give it a trial."

these respects only on the advice of responsible ministers, has among his all too few functions this duty to perform, viz., to refuse a dissolution so long as an alternative ministry with the support of the legislature can be formed and, in particular, so long as he is not satisfied that a *prima facie* case exists for the view that the parliament has ceased to represent the nation's will. As the virtual right of dissolution vested in the cabinet serves as a check on hasty action by the legislature the right of refusal vested in the head of the state serves as a counteraction to the interested or misguided recalcitrance of the cabinet. It is noteworthy that in France, where the ministers are for all practical purposes devoid of the right of dissolution, the censorial action of the popular chamber is too hastily and too often exercised. The newer parliamentary constitutions on the continent of Europe bristle with checks and counterchecks which combine to reduce the ministry to helplessness in the matter of dissolution. This has contributed in no small measure to the meddlesome and inefficient¹ rule of parliamentary groups in those countries.

The common feature in all parliamentary governments concerning the position of the head of the state is his non-responsibility which follows from the fact that all responsibility is vested in the ministry. Such a position of non-responsibility is, however, compatible with hereditary, elective or appointed headships. England for all intents and purposes is a hereditary monarchy. France and Germany have got elected presidents. The self-governing dominions of the British Empire have appointed Governors and Governor-Generals who, though they are theoretically the deputies of the British King, are in reality constitutional heads of the dominion Governments. As stated above, excepting France and most of the newer European democracies these heads have a certain negative control over the premature dissolution of parliament. They have also, particularly in countries where the condition of political parties is disorganised and confused, some discretion in the matter of choosing the principal ministers, within the field left open by the essential requirement that the ministers must command at least a working majority in the legislature. It is conceivable that a minister who is not a member of the legislature might yet command a sufficient support from parliament. But the appointment of such ministers would offend against that organic unity between the legislature and the executive which is a cardinal feature of parliamentary government. Barring exceptional and temporary cases it is a general practice of all parliamentary governments to limit the choice of ministers to the members of the legislature.

1. Cf. A. Headlam-Morley—*The New Democratic Constitutions of Europe* pp. 192-208.

By the same logic of organic unity and efficient control the more prominent of the ministers tend to be drawn from the more predominant chamber. In the older parliamentary governments usage is considered to be a sufficient guarantee to secure the appointment of only members of the legislature to the ministerships. In some of the newer governments, as for instance in Australia, the Indian provinces and most of the post-war European democracies, a statutory requirement to this effect is incorporated in the constitution itself. Though at the time of appointment a minister need not be an elected representative of the people within a stated period he is required to become one, failing which he would cease to be a minister.

In all these respects, namely (1) supremacy of parliament; (2) removable executive; (3) determinate responsibility for executive actions; (4) popular composition of parliament; (5) non-responsibility¹ and powerlessness of the head of the state; (6) choice of ministers from the legislature, and (7) right² of dissolution vested in the ministers under some restrictions, there is a substantial uniformity among the different manifestations of parliamentary government. There are, however, several other important aspects of the working of parliamentary governments in respect of which no such similarity of practice can be traced. In this category of variable features of parliamentary government, party organisation naturally comes first. It is a belief with many³ that parliamentary government is impossible or at best is unworkable, without the organisation of well-knit political parties. This belief is borne out by experience and now it is only a truism to say that the unity and energy that are essential for the discharge of executive functions can be secured in the parliamentary form only by placing behind the cabinet the support of a strong party or an alliance of parties pledged to keep the executive in office. Experience of several countries, however, shows that the existence of a countrywide party organisation among the electors is non-essential to the working of the parliamentary system. Till lately France could hardly boast of a single organised party in the English or the American sense. In most other parliamentary countries the situation in this respect is far from

1. In both these respects the constitutional position and actual political practice in the newer European Democracies is at variance with the older, and in particular British, model. In most of these democracies not only is the right of dissolution denied to the ministry, but the heads of the state under ordinary constitutional practice are reduced to functionless parts of the constitutional machinery. A mediocre person holding the nominal headship is weighed down by the burden of complicated and numerous checks and counterchecks; but a designing, ambitious and capable occupant uses them for his own rise to dictatorship. In both cases the failure of normal parliamentary government is obvious.

2. A. L. Lowell: *Greater European Governments*, p. 63-69.

approaching the English model of an extensive and elaborate party structure. Much less is it true to say that parliamentary government presupposes the existence of only two strong and balanced parties. No parliamentary country except England ever satisfied this condition, and even in that country during the last few years the usual working of the two party systems has been seriously dislocated. It is at least doubtful whether a rigid and, especially, dual party organisation is natural or beneficent. At any rate it is evident at the present moment that though the two party organisation has served in England as a helpful instrument for the easy working of the parliamentary mechanism it does not constitute a fixed, universal or necessary attribute of that system.

At first sight it would appear that collective responsibility of the cabinet is almost a *sine qua non* of parliamentary government. This impression would be further strengthened by the knowledge that in all parliamentary countries appointments and dismissals or resignations of ministers usually take place jointly. But the extent to which the principle of collective responsibility is honoured in the constitution varies from country to country. Thus the Weimer Constitution in Germany¹ definitely provides that individual members of the cabinet are responsible for the administration of their respective departments and that the Chancellor, on whose recommendation the ministers are appointed, is responsible for general policy. In France, the British practice is followed in outward form, that is, the prime-minister as the representative of a majority in the legislature forms his own cabinet which is collectively responsible for the whole administration. In actual fact, however, there are frequent instances in that country of a reshuffling of portfolios between the old and the new cabinets, which is traceable, at least partially, to the tacit adoption of the principle that because the Chamber disapproves of the policy of any one minister or group it is not necessary that all ministers should be dispossessed of power. The existence of a multitude of parties strengthens the tendency to put out of office only the offending man or group and to carry on with a new alliance. There is reason to believe that the thorough adoption of the principle of joint responsibility is possible only in a country where the two party organisation prevails. Multiplicity of parties and looseness of party organisation tend to undermine if not the theory at any rate the practice of collective responsibility of the cabinet.

1. Article 86 of the Constitution of Germany reads as follows—"The Chancellor of the Reich determines the main lines of policy for which he is responsible to the Reichstag. Within these main lines each minister of the Reich directs independently the department entrusted to him, for which he is personally responsible to the Reichstag."

The position held by the prime-minister in a parliamentary constitution is equally uncertain. So long as he remains in office he is the principal, if not the only, authorised¹ mouthpiece of the cabinet in its relations with the parliament on the one hand and the head of the state on the other. In practice a good deal of latitude is given to individual members of the cabinet to represent their position to the legislature and to the head of the state. The practice of the present National government of Great Britain has been particularly elastic on this point. The relations between the prime-minister and his colleagues depend to a great extent on personal peculiarities, but there are distinct signs of a development in the direction of raising the prime-minister's position to a specially high pedestal. It used to be said till recently that the prime-minister is only *primus² inter pares*. The description is no longer quite accurate and it can be illustrated with reference to several cabinet formations of recent times that the cabinet is often an appendage of the prime-minister, a committee of his lieutenants. The working of the representative system, especially in a country having a strong and rigid party organisation, centres round a periodical choice on the part of the electors of their chief governor or leader, who is mostly free to choose his own political and administrative team. The authoritative and almost exclusive position that the prime-minister occupies in relation to the head of the state and the almost complete discretion that he enjoys in the matter of advising the latter to dissolve the legislature create opportunities which in the hands of a strong and capable man raise the office of the prime-minister to the eminence and authority of an elected president,³ such as that in the United States. The role of Mr. Lloyd George in his War-time ministries and that of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in the second Labour ministry are clear indications of the tendencies here referred to.

It is a universal feature of parliamentary government that under it the executive is responsible to the legislature. But the way in which this responsibility is ensured varies from country to country. In most of the older parliamentary governments responsibility is based on a traditional practice and flows from several indirect provisions of the law. In some of the newer constitutions the responsibility of the executive to the legislature is specially provided by the fundamental law. The Canadian constitution belongs to the former and the Australian to the latter class. In both types different methods of enforcing responsi-

1. "As the cabinet stands between the sovereign and Parliament, and is bound to be loyal to both, so he stands between his colleagues and the sovereign and is bound to be loyal to both."—Gladstone. Also compare J. A. R. Marriott Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 177.

2. A. L. Lowell: *The Government of England* Vol. I, pp. 68-69.

3. Leask, Op. Cit. and Sidney Low: *The Government of England*, pp. XX et seq.

bility are followed. The usual methods are control over the salary of the ministers, as generally on the entire expenditure of the state, and the formal passing of a vote of censure or 'no confidence'. Thus even though under some parliamentary constitutions it is legally possible to appoint ministers who do not command the confidence of the legislature, the latter can always thwart such an anti-constitutional procedure by withholding supplies and salaries and by formally withdrawing its support from the policy of such ministers. Behind these political, financial and legislative sanctions there is always the possibility of a judicial impeachment. But this provision is to be found in many presidential constitutions and cannot be treated as a special, or a normal mode of exacting responsibility in a parliamentary system. Political responsibility, not penal liability, is the distinguishing feature of parliamentary government.

That responsibility is secured as effectively by usage as by law is indicative of the great significance that attaches to constitutional usages in the working of parliamentary governments. These usages, which are sometimes spoken of as precepts¹ of the constitution, are an important part of the parliamentary system. Reasonable opportunities offered to the opposition to criticise government measures and policy, a refusal to use official power either to harm political enemies or to bring about a factious *coup d'état*, a readiness to continue the appointments and administrative decisions of the party that has vacated office,—these and the like conventions are invaluable and indispensable instruments of the smooth and equitable working of parliamentary government. Restraint and moderation are of the essence of the psychological requirements of parliamentary government. These qualities can be attained only by people who by culture and experience have learnt the ultimate justification for these virtues in political life. It is for this reason that parliamentary government has been called² 'gentlemen's government'; and there are many persons who believe that the extension of the vote to the multitude renders the prospects of parliamentary government very gloomy, unless the voters are educated in the wider political sense. Even the head of the state, a hereditary king in some cases, is not free from the binding influence of these conventions. To maintain a neutral attitude in matters that are of grave national concern and that have formed the subject of fierce party controversy is no easy task for a person who is constitutionally the head of the state and whose opinions and interests may be sometimes closely touched by these controversies. To meet succeeding and opposing ministries with the same single-minded devotion to the constitution calls for an intellectual plasticity and a

1. Todd's *Parliamentary Government in England*-p. 1 and Dicey A. V.: *Law of the Constitution* p. 413 et seqq.

2. Cf. Leckey : *Democracy and Liberty* p. 33 and 139,

moral regard for conventions which it is not easy to find among holders of these non-responsible yet dignified and crucial offices. If the head of the state and an ambitious and none too scrupulous leader of a victorious party combine to disregard the conventions of the parliamentary government a virtual, and in course of time a legal, dictatorship or oligarchy might easily develop. Recent experience in Italy, France and Poland is very significant on this point. These are indeed extreme cases; but even the other states with a professedly parliamentary form of government differ a good deal amongst themselves in respect of the loyalty exhibited for conventions and usages associated with the best manifestations of parliamentary rule. It must be admitted that the growing scope of governmental activities, which now touch the whole life of a nation, and the emergence into political prominence of grave problems of social policy have strained the politicians' regard for constitutional conventions almost to breaking point. Even the neutral loyalty of the civil and military services which is an implied feature of all parliamentary, and in fact of all constitutional, government has been visibly affected in many countries.

It is well-known that the practice of excluding the head of the state from meetings of the cabinet had its origin in England in the defective knowledge of the national tongue among the first two Hanoverian Kings. This was, of course, an historical accident. But the constitutional justification for such a practice was so evident that many other countries adopting parliamentary government for a choice specially provided for exclusion of the head from cabinet meetings. In view of the ultimate and exclusive responsibility of the ministers and their collective relationship with the head of the state it would be harmful to the freedom of the cabinet to empower the head to sit at cabinet meetings. Indeed as the head has no responsibility for action his presence at a meeting of responsible ministers would appear to be politically unsound. The great and long traditions of English kingship have secured, even under the parliamentary system, a considerable amount of sentimental and political respect for the British sovereign. Even though the king is not present at meetings of the cabinet, it is his constitutional privilege, allowed and sanctioned by an almost unbroken convention, to be duly and timely informed¹ of all the affairs of the state

1. In this connection the following extract from Queen Victoria's Memorandum to Lord Palmerston who occupied (1858) the post of Foreign Secretary, is instructive. "The Queen requires, first, that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she is giving her royal sanction. Secondly, having once given her sanction to such a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the minister. Such an act she must consider as falling in sincerity towards the Crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her constitutional right of dismissing the minister." Thus the Crown discharges an organic, not a mechanical, function in the working of the British constitution.

and he has also the right to advise the ministers on important issues of public policy. The British King, therefore, if he is mindful of his privileges and opportunities need never be isolated from the course of public events and of administrative policy. The King is relieved of political responsibility, but he is not devoid of functional utility. In the newer parliamentary governments the danger lay in powerful ministries reducing the nominal head to utter isolation and futility. Consistently with the parliamentary responsibility of the cabinet, therefore, it is sought under certain constitutions e. g., France, to secure the presence of the head at meetings of the ministry when formal decisions on national policy are taken. These constitutional requirements are for the most part ineffective. As responsibility attaches to the ministry alone a practice has developed by which the ministers meet as a cabinet without the head of the state when they take their decisions, and then they meet as a ministry when the President might occupy the chair and when the decisions of the cabinet are formally sanctioned. Both under the British and the French practice there is considerable room for a capable, strong and ambitious person to use the constitutional headship as a political lever of no mean importance. But it would appear that the essential requirements of parliamentary government include the non-responsibility of the head and hence also his absence from business meetings of the responsible cabinet. Those constitutions which have made a special attempt to secure the head's presence have not succeeded in essentially altering the position.

It will be seen from this description of the essential and variable features of parliamentary government that the working of that system is dependant on a number of written and unwritten principles many of which differ from country to country. Yet the main theory of parliamentary government, which consists in the supremacy of the legislature in the making and enforcement of laws, is common to all parliamentary constitutions. In actual practice several interesting, and some unexpected, features develop. For instance, the majority party or the coalition is the real taskmaster of the cabinet, and hence the latter primarily owe responsibility to their partisans. Not infrequently the real leaders of the party in power are outside the legislature. Even if all party leaders are members of parliament, control of the party machine is often exercised only by a small group. Thus responsibility to the legislature in many cases works out in practice as subservience to a party caucus. Where the leaders of the party are themselves holders of supreme executive offices and where the members of the party in power are alive to their responsibilities the development of caucus rule is checked. Even in Great Britain¹ an occasional tendency

1. The differences that developed between the last Labour Cabinet and the executive of the Trade Union Congress are interesting in this connection.

towards the rise of this perverted form of parliamentary government is visible. In many other parliamentary countries such a state of things is more of a rule than an exception. If it is remembered that very often, owing to the imperfections of the electoral system, the majority in the legislature is representative of a minority of voters we will get some idea of the inadequacy of the belief that parliamentary government is rule by the majority of voters through a majority of representatives.

Another important limitation on the practical working of parliamentary government consists in the fact that in almost all cases the responsibility of the cabinet is not towards the whole legislature but only towards the so-called popular or lower chamber. The British House of Lords is a hereditary body representative of an undemocratic principle which is a relic of feudal times. It might perhaps be argued that its legislative and political impotence does not offend against the essential requirements of parliamentary government which can work normally only in a democracy. The same can be said of a couple of more countries e. g., Canada and Italy before the rise of Fascism. But in all other parliamentary countries the second chamber is deliberately divested of controlling power over the executive, though such a chamber is directly or indirectly based on the principle of popular election. Voting of supplies is the principal instrument of enforcing ministerial responsibility and as the financial powers of upper chambers are very narrowly limited their share in parliamentary supremacy suffers in significance. The degree to which the second chamber is politically powerless may vary from country to country. It is also possible that, as in France, the upper chamber might under the constitution possess certain rights, such as that of acquiescing in a premature dissolution of the lower chamber, which might give it an indirect control over the ministry. All the same it is the universal experience of all parliamentary governments that such responsibility as is actually owed by the executive to the legislature is primarily and principally to the more popular chamber, which enjoys a moiety, if not the entirety, of that supremacy of the legislature which is an essential feature of parliamentary government.

A tendency which works in the direction of undermining the collective character of parliamentary executives consists in the emergence of inner cabinets. Under a parliamentary government all ministers are technically responsible to the legislature and are removable by it. The unity of state action would also point towards all ministers working together and shaping state policy in conformity with the inclinations of parliament. In practice, however, the large number of departments in modern governments and the exigencies of the process of arriving at decisions by an intimate and informal exchange of views have combined

to lift the task of high deliberation from the cabinet to a select group of leading ministers. Not only during extraordinary times like those of war and crisis but even ordinarily questions of vital policy are decided more and more by a small coterie of cabinet leaders whose decisions are only registered and adopted by the whole cabinet. Ministers outside the cabinet have indeed no place in any general deliberation of the executive government. The rise of such a governing caucus within the cabinet cuts at the root of current ideas about joint deliberation and collective responsibility.

Contrasting to a certain extant with this drift towards enforcing decisions arrived at outside the meetings of the cabinet as a whole, there is the growing practice of reducing the business of the cabinet to a formal procedure and record. Members of the cabinet are leaders of a party having general principles of policy in common, and subscribing to an 'agreement to agree' that binds them to the same administration. It is not, however, to be expected that the ultimate agreement on every issue will be arrived at except after a good deal of informal and, sometimes, heated exchange of views. These preliminary discussions at the cabinet table are the inevitable process through which the common will of the executive emerges. What is really significant for purposes of the administration and its responsibility to the legislature is the final decision and not the preliminary process. Any extensive vogue of maintaining formal and written records must be anxiously watched from two standpoints. Firstly the enhanced formality, by reducing the chances of a hearty agreement,¹ is likely to weaken the executive. Secondly by the development of formal procedure in the cabinet the elasticity of the contact between the ministry and the legislature is likely to suffer. Hidebound attitudes of the cabinet on detailed issues of the administration appear to be inconsistent with that real supremacy of the legislature which is essential to the normal working of the parliamentary system of government. The tendency to formalize the procedure of cabinets has worked intermittently. It must be admitted that in critical and eventful times there is some practical advantage in reducing to writing the decisions of the cabinet. In fact all decisions that culminate in official action have to take formal legal shape. With the increasing size of the cabinet and the growing practice of working by sub-committees of the cabinet some resort to agenda, minutes and record has become inevitable. But all such record of cabinet work in a parliamentary government ought to be informal and confidential and it should be confined to the personnel and life of the cabinet itself. It ought not to pass into the normal secretariat procedure and record of the government. This view appears to follow from the essential principles involved in parliamentary administration.

1. Cf. A. L. Lowell—*Government of England*, p. 67.

In a parliamentary government the cabinet ought to be amenable to the wishes of the legislature in all matters of legislative policy and executive action. Like responsible and efficient servants, however, the cabinet which has a closer touch with the realities of the problems of government, has to perform the function of advising the legislature as to the best course to be followed. In countries where party organisations are very strong, and in particular where the two party system prevails, cabinet advice is practically undistinguishable from a party mandate which all the members of the party in office are expected to obey. As the government has the support of a majority of members the legislative, financial and administrative proposals of the cabinet are assured of passage through parliament. Thus instead of being led by the parliament the cabinet leads, some even say drives,¹ the legislature. Such a development would appear to be a strange and perverse sequel to the professions of parliamentary rule. A more comprehensive view of the actual practice of parliamentary governments would, however, convince us that this criticism of parliamentary executives is to be understood in a very limited sense. Even in countries which have a strong two party organisation the cabinet can hope to impose its will on the rank and file of the party members in the legislature only so long as it is acting within the letter and the spirit of the party platform which is binding upon all members of the party. The policy recommended by the cabinet to the parliament must be presumed to have the support, active and conscious support, of a majority of the members of the legislature. The function allotted to the opposition in a parliamentary government is to oppose, to criticise and to put the government on its guard against imposing on the nation a policy for which the party in power has no mandate from the electorate. This function is satisfactorily performed so long as the normal conditions of a two party system prevails, and the alleged driving of the legislature by the executive is a voluntary, deliberate and purposeful acquiescence by the latter in the discretion and lead of the former. So long as the prospect of the dethronement of the cabinet by the party or by the electorate is a real one the appearance of executive high-handedness in relation to the legislature must not be interpreted to constitute a detraction from the requirements of parliamentary government. The tyranny of the executive over the legislature under normal parliamentary conditions is like the domination of a mistress over the lover; it is tolerated only so long as power is exercised on the basis of understanding, trust and loyalty.

The opportunities that a parliamentary executive has to 'drive' the legislature grow distinctly less as the state of parties becomes less organised and more diffused. As can be inferred from the experience

1. Cf. H. Finer—*Op. Cit.*

of a large number of parliamentary democracies in post-War Europe the normal state of government in many countries is a minority or a coalition. Where the government has to depend upon the toleration of the opposition groups and where the formation of the cabinet itself requires an amount of give and take between more than one parties there can be little prospect of the executive mustering enough cohesion and vigour to lead, leave alone to drive, the legislature. In fact such a state of things weakens the position of the executive in relation to members of the legislature to such an appreciable extent that it has come to be described by the significant title 'deputantism'.

Another deviation from the two party system is the rise of a single dominant party. At least in two important European states, viz., Italy and Germany, such a situation has arisen and, what is more important from the standpoint of constitutional law, has been legalised. There are other instances such as Poland, Austria and Yugoslavia, in Europe and many of the republics in Latin America, where the government party uses its position to influence the course of elections so as to produce single party conditions. Under the dignified and patriotic name of a national party similar extinction of party division has been well nigh accomplished at least twice in the recent history of England, once during the Great War and again in the so-called national crisis of 1931. Experience of all these varieties of one party government is uniform in support of the conclusions that the single party is the first stage on the high road to dictatorship and that it does not conform to the requirements of constitutional government or parliamentary rule. The dictatorship might be exercised by one leading figure, or by a party caucus, or by a coalition of leaders of parties. All the same by suspending the possibility of a normal opposition and criticism in the legislature, and by obviating or procrastinating the formation of an alternative government the single party hits at the very root of parliamentary government. The covenant among leaders or the extra-constitutional domination of a single man or party effectively forestalls both the prospect of the removal of the executive by the legislature and the political supremacy of the latter. The rise to dictatorial power of one man or of a single party must be looked upon as an eclipse of parliamentary government. In the recent and contemporary history of political institutions several such instances have occurred.

An elaborate and exhaustive discussion about the merits and demerits of parliamentary government will be clearly out of place in the present article. It would, however, conduce to a proper appreciation of the problem of the parliamentary executive if a mere enumeration of the principal features of the working of that form were here attempted without trying to decide on which side the balance leans. It

is claimed as a special merit of the parliamentary form of government that it secures a close co-operation among the executive, the legislature and the electorate. To the extent to which such is the case not only does the government benefit by a potent source of political strength but the ends of democratic government are served more satisfactorily than is feasible in any other form of democratic organisation. It is further argued that as the cabinet is composed of the chiefs of the several departments of the state, and as the members of the cabinet collectively frame the entire policy of the administration there is an assured co-ordination of action and policy among all the executive departments. Where, as in the presidential form, the departmental heads are individually responsible to a president such a co-ordination is not adequately secured. It has been already noted that in the normal expression of parliamentary government there is always a party or group of parties in 'opposition' which makes it its business to offer responsible criticism to government measures. This process helps in the formulation of a general or national will on all public issues. Party government is at best a practical democratic device and unless it is associated with a strong and responsible opposition it tends to degenerate into factious or autocratic government. But the opposition itself is disarmed of its mischievous proclivities by the existence of a governmental majority and by the prospect of official responsibility. Thus under the parliamentary form of government, while the course of legislation is comparatively consistent and smooth, and the actions of the executive are characterised by the strength that results from assured legislative support, the danger of factious and autocratic rule is minimised by the constant pressure of an opposition and by the prospect of facing the electorate. Whenever by the rise to predominance of a single political party the existence of opposition parties within the legislature becomes impossible, parliamentary government ceases to function normally and conditions are ripe for the emergence of some form of dictatorship.

As no human institution is perfect parliamentary government also has many glaring shortcomings. The frequent changes in the supreme governmental council, and in particular the alternations between parties differing on important issues of public policy, naturally makes for an appreciable discontinuity of policy. With the rise into prominence of fundamental questions of social and economic policy this discontinuity constitutes a real inconvenience and a potent source of weakness and danger. It is for this reason that the continued success of the parliamentary form of government is held by several¹ writers to be conditional on a firm unanimity of opinion among the several sections of the political world on all vital national issues. It must be

1. J. A. R. Marriott—Op. Cit., Vol. I, p. 445.

admitted that the experience of parliamentary government under varied conditions, particularly in the post-war world, lends considerable support to this statement of an important limitation on the beneficent or successful working of parliamentary rule. While the deepest philosophical convictions or the most vital economic interests of important political parties conflict with the established order it is well nigh impossible to keep within the limits which Lecky¹ had in view when he described the parliamentary form as 'gentlemen's government'. It is true on the other hand that the rivalry between parties for the political purpose of taking charge of the governmental machinery degenerates very often into personal squabbles and office-hunting. What ought to be in theory a conflict between competing principles and measures is often a bitter and interested feud between factions and men. It is difficult to think of parliamentary government as a stable form of administration except in association with a system of organised parties which are agreed on the fundamentals of social and political organisation and only differ in their outlook on particular policies and measures. But the experience of political parties in most modern countries in respect of the diversity of their principles and outlook is so menacing that many have lost faith in parliamentary government, and some even in democracy.

It must be observed in this connection that though party formation and party life in all democratic countries leave much to be desired, tradition and public opinion play an important part in deciding on the crucial issue whether bad party standards will make parliamentary, or in fact any democratic government altogether impossible. This potency of national tradition is nowhere more significant than in the restraint that successful political parties place on themselves in regard to crippling their rivals and undoing their official acts. Both professions and practices vary in these respects from country to country and it is certain that parliamentary government will not long survive the adoption of an intolerant and factious attitude by successful political parties. An important cause of the alleged failure of parliamentary government in the newly created European democracies is to be found in the failure of political parties to rise to the high public standards of restraint and fair play demanded for the success of the parliamentary system.

In all times, and especially in critical periods, it is necessary that the executive should act with decision and vigour. The emergence of unexpected issues of vital importance is likely to unnerve a parliamentary executive as it has to depend for the ratification of its acts on a numerous popular body. Strong party organisation has here served

1. Op. Cit.

as an asset. Still many observers¹ of governmental institutions hold that presidential executives have a decided advantage over parliamentary governments in times of crisis. There is some truth in this view, but it must not be understood to imply that as a rule crises, national or international, economic, social or political, are worse handled in parliamentary than in presidential countries. The Great World War, the post-War unsettlement and the recent unparalleled economic depression are first rate disasters that have been met with at least as much grim determination and efficient organisation in parliamentary as in presidential countries. It is only fair to admit that in times of grave national danger party divisions have been usually abandoned and single party or 'national' governments have been set up for meeting the extraordinary situation. It might be plausibly argued that parliamentary governments have been able to meet national disasters only by the abandonment of the normal practices of that form of administration. But then in unusual times of strain and conflict all constitutions, parliamentary and presidential, develop certain unusual features.

Those who boggle at the formation of rigid party divisions urge a special grievance² against the parliamentary form, which in some measure means party government. It must, however, be observed that no modern democracy, parliamentary or otherwise, has been known to function without the formation of some sort of parties. While rigid and almost unprincipled party formation prevails in several presidential countries such as the United States, a substantial elasticity in party formation is proved to be consistent with the running of parliamentary systems, as in France. It is a very noticeable feature of our times that along with most other social institutions parliamentary government has been subjected to searching criticism from friendly as well as hostile quarters. It is the purpose of this article to help in an understanding of the merits of this discussion centering round an important form of political organisation, a form moreover which has been authoritatively prescribed as the goal of constitutional progress in India.

APPENDIX

In a study of political institutions a classification of states has some importance. The immediate purpose in hand must govern the adoption of the principle of classification, and hence a classification

1. J. A. R. Marriott—Op. Cit. Vol. II pp. 119. Also, A. V. Dicey : A Comparison between Cabinet Government and Presidential Government. Nineteenth Century, June 1919.

2. Sidney Low : Op. Cit., pp. 116-134.

between parliamentary and presidential governments is the one with which we are most directly concerned in the present article. With a view, however, to emphasise the relative position held by this form of government in the totality of governmental experience and with a view, further, to indicate a few broad features of the mutual relation of this and several other types of governmental institutions it is proposed to append here a fresh and complete classification of governments. As will be observed from the classification table the principles of classification successively adopted are, 1. possession or non-possession of sovereignty; 2. rule of law or rule of arbitrary authority; 3. hereditary elective or demagogic headship; 4. legislative control over executive or the direct dependence of the latter on the electorate; and, in the case of dictatorships, 5. personal or oligarchic. Monarchical governments in which the king rules with the advice and consent of the parliament are classed as constitutional monarchies, and those in which the leaders of parliament rule in the name of the reigning king are classed as parliamentary monarchies.

Merits of governmental forms are relative and they depend more on analytical and qualitative than on quantitative considerations. A glance at the table will, however, reveal several interesting facts about the prevalence of important political institutions. Thus it will be observed that with the prominent exception of Canada, which has a parliamentary government, and of Turkey, which has a presidential one, presidential republics are the prevalent order of government only in the American continent. Further it is noteworthy that excepting France parliamentary republics are neither extensive nor very successful. Switzerland is in a very unique position though its constitution answers to the essential requirements of parliamentary government. With the exception of Norway, which has still retained strong traditions of an active kingship, all the existing cases of constitutional monarchies are of states in a comparatively transitional stage of evolution. It would appear that both in numbers and in success parliamentary governments flourish where the headship of the state is vested in a stable institution like a hereditary monarch who is ready to reign leaving responsible ministers to govern. Instances of absolute monarchy are few and obscure and they only serve to indicate the obsolete nature of that form of government. Dictatorships, though as yet small in number, are significant as a sign of the times and their number is increasing. It must, however, be noted that dictatorships of a class or of a party, rather than those of a single person, appear to be more practical possibilities in the comparatively settled and peaceful conditions of modern states. Significantly enough the pride of place in the table is occupied by dependent administrations. This should serve as a corrective to the facile tendency amongst political

TABLE I
Governments

Independent States							
Constitutional Governments				Autocracies			
Republics		Limited Monarchies		Absolute Monarchies	Dictatorships		
Presidential	Parliamentary	Constitutional	Parliamentary	1. Abyssinia 2. Nepal	Personal	Oligarchic	
1. United States 2. Argentine 3. Bolivia 4. Brazil 5. Chile 6. Colombia 7. Costa Rica 8. Cuba 9. Dominica 10. Ecuador 11. Guatemala 12. Haiti 13. Honduras 14. Liberia 15. Mexico 16. Paraguay 17. Peru 18. Salvador 19. Turkey ¹ 20. Uruguay 21. Venezuela	1. Southern Rhodesia 2. Austria ² 3. Czechoslovakia 4. Estonia 5. Finland 6. France 7. Greece 8. Iceland 9. Latvia 10. Lithuania 11. Nicaragua 12. Poland ³ 13. Portugal 14. Roumania 15. Spain 16. Switzerland ⁴	1. Afghanistan ⁵ 2. Norway 3. Persia ⁶ 4. Siam ⁶	1. Great Britain 2. Irish Free State 3. South Africa ⁷ 4. Canada 5. Australia 6. New Zealand 7. Albania 8. Belgium 9. Bulgaria 10. Denmark 11. Egypt 12. Hungary 13. Iraq 14. Japan 15. Netherlands 16. Sweden 17. Yugoslavia ⁸	1. Italy ⁹	1. China 2. Germany ⁸ 3. Russia	1. Gibraltar 2. Ceylon 3. India 4. Aden 5. Perim 6. Sokotra 7. Kuria Muri 8. Bahrain Islands 33. Sudan 34. Tanganyika 35. S. W. Africa 36. Cameroons 37. Togoland 38. Bermuda 29. Falkland Islands 40. British Guiana 41. Honduras 42. New Found- land. 43. West Indies 44. Fiji 45. Arabia 46. Belgian Congo 47. Bhutan 48. Danzig 49. French Colonies 50. Italian Colonies 51. Luxembourg ¹⁰ 52. Monaco 53. Morocco 54. Dutch East Indies 55. Panama 56. Rome 57. San Marino 58. Soviet Depen- dencies 59. Malta 60. Manchuria	Dependent Admin- istrations 1. Gibraltar 2. Ceylon 3. India 4. Aden 5. Perim 6. Sokotra 7. Kuria Muri 8. Bahrain Islands 9. British Borneo 10. Sarawak 11. Maldives Islands 12. Cyprus 13. Hong Kong 14. Straits Settlements 15. Federated Malay States 16. Palestine 17. Kenya 18. Uganda 19. Zanzibar 20. Mauritius 21. Nyanzaland 22. St. Helena 23. Seychelles 24. Somaliland 25. Basutoland 26. Beuchuanaland 27. Northern Rhodesia 28. Swaziland 29. Nigeria 30. Gambia 31. Gold Coast 32. Sierra Leone

- Turkey—President elected by the Legislature from its own members and for its own period.
- Austria, Poland, Yugoslavia.—Later developments are in the direction of suppressing Parliamentary rule.
- Switzerland—Elected collegiate Executive acting under control of the legislature, which is the appointing authority.
- South Africa—So far as the natives are concerned the government is an autocracy.
- Luxemburg—Member of the League of Nations, under protection of Belgium.
- Afghanistan, Persia, and Siam—Representative institutions are being developed.
- Italy and Germany—This classification is based on the position of Mussolini and Hitler in relation, respectively, to the Fascist and the Nazi parties.

writers to look upon the conditions of a few advanced and independent states as the centre of political observation. As a matter of fact the fundamental political experience of modern and ancient times which will bear a good deal of further analysis from political thinkers is the persistence of political subjection on such a large scale. Here again we must repeat that a historical and analytical treatment is the only scientific method to explain the phenomenon. With a view, however, to emphasise the relative magnitude of different types of governmental experience and practice the following table has been compiled from the latest available figures.

TABLE II.

Class of Governments.	Area sq. miles (Thousands.)	Percentage of Total.	Population (Millions.)	Percentage of Total.
1. Presidential Republics.	11,889	24	246	12
2. Parliamentary Republics.	1,302	2.7	204	10
3. Constitutional Monarchies.	1,210	2.3	35	2
4. Parliamentary Monarchies.	8,396	17	231	11.3
5. Absolute Monarchies.	404	.8	11	.5
6. Personal Dictatorships.	120	.2	42	.2
7. Oligarchies.	12,337	25	674	34
8. Dependencies.	13,776	28	585	30
Total ...	49,434	100	2,028	100

D. G. KARVE.

FERTILITY-DATA OF THE INDIAN CENSUS OF 1931

Religion and Fertility.

The fertility-data collected at the Indian Census of 1931 shows that for the whole sample consisting of families belonging to all religions, the average fertility of a marriage taking all durations together is 3.86.

TABLE I.

*Average number of children born per family.
(India).*

Group.	Marriages of all durations combined.	*Marriages of under 20 years' duration.
All religions	3.86	2.98
Christians	4.53	2.80
Hindus	3.93	2.91
Muslims	3.55	3.12
Sikhs	4.09	3.03

N. B. Compiled from figures presented in Statement V at page 209 of the Census of India, 1931, India Report.

For families where marriage with present wife has endured for 32 years and over and therefore fertility is completed, the average number of children born per family is 5.84. Families in which marriage with present wife has lasted for less than 20 years give an average fertility of 2.98 per family. If every married woman had a chance to continue her married state till fertility was exhausted she would bear 5.84 children but, as it is, not all married women succeed in having full married life. In the present sample, as is seen from Table II only 11.7 per cent. of all the marriages had endured for 32 years and over and had completed fertility.

*. The starting point of a marriage is the time when the wife first goes to live with her husband.

TABLE II.

Percentage of families in which marriage with present wife endured for 32 years and over and average number of children born per such family.

Group.	Per cent.	Average number of children born per family.
All religions ...	11.7	5.84
Christians ...	15.5	6.99
Hindus ...	12.3	5.84
Muslims ...	9.7	5.57
Sikhs ...	14.3	5.76

N. B. Compiled from the figures presented in Statement V on page 209 of the Census of India, 1931, India Report.

In actual conditions of life, marriages end at various durations and the average of the various durations of marriages may be taken as the average duration of a marriage. The number of children per marriage based on marriages of all durations represents the number of children a woman, if she gets married, bears before her marriage is terminated and this number as is noted above, is 3.86 in this sample.

Fertilities of the families following the main religions of India are also presented in the tables above mentioned. It is seen from them that the Muslims have smaller fertility for an average marriage as well as for marriages lasting 32 years and over and that the percentage of such marriages is smaller among them than among the Hindus. If the sample is representative this means that the natural increase of Muslims should be less than that of the Hindus unless the survival-rate of their children is far in excess of that of the latter. It is found that the survival-rate of Muslim children is only slightly higher than that of the Hindus, viz., 2 per 1000 children born.¹

Between 1881 and 1931 whereas the Muslim population increased by 55 per cent, the Hindus increased by only 26.8 per cent.² These percentages of increase in the population of the respective communities are likely to conceal sources of great error inasmuch as there have been accretions of territories during this period with varying proportions of populations of the two communities. It is therefore

1. Census of India 1931, India Report, statement VI, p. 210.

2. loc. cit., p. 387;

necessary for proper comparison to take figures between 1911 and 1931 during which period no fresh territories have been added to the Census unit of India. During this period whereas the Hindus show an increase of 9·9 per cent. the Muslims record one of 16·6.

The Census Commissioner, Dr. Hutton, commenting on the relative increase of the two communities says :—" Probably owing to the practices of polygyny, of widow remarriage and on the whole of later consummation of marriage than is the prevailing practice among most Hindus, the Muslims are at present increasing at a greater rate. Some of the increase may be attributed to the "Tanzim" movement for conversion to Islam, which naturally sprang up in reply to "Shuddhi," but it is believed that the increase attributable to this cause is not appreciable."¹ If later consummation of marriage were responsible for the larger increase of the Muslim population the present data about fertility would have reflected its influence and the average fertility of a marriage among Muslims would have been greater than among Hindus. But as seen above this is not the case. On the other hand the fertility of marriage is greater among the Hindus. Thus later consummation of marriage among Muslims cannot be advanced as the cause of their larger increase observed during the last two decades. Accepting the opinion of Dr. Hutton that conversion is not the cause of the Muslim increase to an appreciable extent one has to look for other possible causes. Is it due to an increasing immigration of the Muslims from outside India proper? The figures for immigrants are not presented in the Census Report by their religious affiliation which circumstance makes it difficult to analyse this source of disparity in the increase of the two communities. Nevertheless, a rough statement is possible as the country of birth of the immigrants is given. It may be deduced from these figures that between 1911 and 1931 immigration should have rather favoured the Hindus as the immigrants from Nepal have far outstripped the immigrants from Afghanistan. Perhaps this advantage of immigration might have offset emigration to Malaya and Ceylon wherein the Hindus preponderate.

It is possible that a community in which an average marriage has less fertility than that of another may yet increase more rapidly than the other if a proportionately larger number of its women are in the married state than the other community. A community in which widow remarriage and polygyny are practised may reflect the influence of these social habits in the proportion of its women who are married as contrasted with another in which these customs are absent. Any-way it is only when these social customs affect the proportion of married women, making it larger than that in the other community without these customs, that they will contribute to a larger increase

¹. op. cit., p. 390.

of that community. *Per se* these customs have no influence on the fertility and growth of a group which can be demonstrated. Thus it is clear that we must scrutinise very carefully the proportions of married women in the two communities to see if they can account for the difference in their increases. Taking the figures for India, including Burma, it is found that while among the Hindu women 50·1 per cent. are married, among the Muslim women they are 50·3 per cent. This small difference in the proportion of married women in the two communities is not sufficient to explain the observed difference in their increases.

It is seen from column 2 of Table I that for families with duration of marriage with present wife being under 20 years, the Muslims have a larger fertility per marriage than that of the Hindus for similar families. In the sample on which figures for total fertility of marriage are based such families form 60·8 per cent. of the total families among the Hindus while they form 57·2 per cent. among the Muslims. Perhaps then the sample is not quite representative of the actual marital condition of the people. If Muslim families with duration of marriage with present wife being under 20 years and having larger average fertility were to form a larger percentage than they do in the sample, the total fertility of an average marriage would not be so much smaller than that of the Hindus. It will be perhaps correct to say that the larger increase of the Muslims than that of the Hindus during the last two decades is due to the fact that (i) they have a slightly larger proportion of married women; (ii) their children have a slightly higher survival-rate; and (iii) marriages among them which have taken place during the last two decades are on the whole more fertile than similar marriages among the Hindus.

Class and Fertility

In some of the Provincial Reports on the Census the data is further analysed with a view to elucidate the problem of differential fertility as between the various social classes. The Superintendents of the Bombay Census, presenting a statement numbered 25 in which the total average fertility of a marriage according to its various durations and the three regions of the Presidency viz., Gujarat, Deccan and Konkan in respect of the four classes, Hindu Advanced, Hindu Intermediate, Hindu Backward and Hindu Depressed is given, thus comment on it. "These figures would seem to disprove the view often urged that the poorer stocks are breeding more rapidly than the better stocks. It will be noticed that the fertility of the Backward and the Depressed Classes is lower over a long period of marriage than the fertility of the Advanced and the Intermediate Classes. The cause is perhaps economic and social, economic because a hard life makes child-bearing more difficult, and social because the worse-off sections of the

community may have on the whole a shorter married life. The question however deserves closer examination by sociologists. The Advanced Classes are more prolific in the Konkan than elsewhere. In Gujarat the backward and depressed classes return the lowest figures for fertility. The Deccan is the area in which fertility is highest for all classes, except the Advanced. The low fertility in the Konkan for intermediate, backward and depressed classes is worthy of note. The Hindu intermediate classes seem to have a comparatively low fertility for the first 10 years of marriage."

It is clear that these remarks are based on the averages of gross fertility and not on net or effective fertility-rates which are worked out from the figures for surviving children. Whether a particular group is breeding more rapidly than another is not what matters. What is contended in such arguments is that a particular group is replenishing the numbers in a society at a higher rate than another. The rate at which a group replenishes the number of a population depends on two factors. First the effective or net average fertility of an average marriage and second the proportionate number of married women as potential mothers. The average number of surviving children observed in the case of marriages of all durations may very well represent the average effective fertility of an average marriage. Other things being equal, particularly the proportion of married to the total number of women being the same, a group in which the effective fertility-rate of an average marriage is higher than in another will on the whole contribute a larger quota to the make-up of the next generation of a population than another and *vice-versa*. The following statement, prepared from the figures presented in Sex Table II of the Report on the Bombay Census of 1931 (page 402), gives the average number of surviving children per family or marriage of all durations for the four classes of the Hindus in the three regions.

Average number of surviving children per family.

	Advanced.	Intermediate.	Backward.	Depressed.
Deccan	... 2.69	2.70	2.82	2.72
Gujarat	... 2.92	2.99	3.11	2.78
Konkan	... 3.13	2.89	2.62	2.72

It is seen from the Statement that except in the Konkan where the advanced classes have a much larger effective fertility-rate and in Gujarat, where these classes have a higher rate than that of the depressed classes, the net fertility-rates are slightly in favour of classes

other than the advanced. In the Deccan both the backward and depressed classes have higher rates than that of either the advanced or the intermediates. In Gujarat the backward classes have a rate which is higher than that of either the advanced or the intermediate. In the Konkan the fertility-rate of the depressed classes is higher than that of the backward classes. The rates of effective fertility of an average marriage based on the number of surviving children of marriages of all durations do not justify the remark quoted above. If anything they just point in the other direction tending to justify the common view that population is being replenished more from poorer stocks than from the better ones.

As for the other important factor viz., the proportion of married women of all ages to total number of women in these groups the following statement, which is prepared from the figures in the Imperial Table VIII on pages 136-139 of the Tables Volume of the Bombay Census of 1931, makes it quite clear that the advantage of the higher rate of effective fertility of an average marriage in favour of other than the advanced classes, though small in itself, must lead to a large disparity as regards the make-up of the next generation, the advanced classes having the smallest proportion of married women to their total strength of females.

Number of married females of all ages per 100 females of the group.
(Bombay.)*

Advanced ...	...	...	...	42.
Intermediate	...	...	...	51.8
Backward ...	...	...	...	47.9
Depressed ...	...	...	...	55.8

Even this conclusion that seems to arise out of our analysis of the material must be taken with a good deal of caution. The figure for fertility of an average marriage is arrived at by taking all the marriages of various durations and with different ages of wives at marriage whether of completed or continuing fertility. As will be seen from the Tables III and IV given below, as between the different groups compared in this analysis there exist differences in the samples considered in regard to the percentages of families with specific ages of wives at marriage and durations of marriages. It will be seen from another part of this paper that the fertility of a marriage depends on the age of wife at marriage as well as on the period of duration of marriage. The fertilities of the different groups, on the basis of which the com-

* (1) It is not possible to work out the proportions separately for the three regions as the relevant figures are not given.

(2) Grouping is not based on exhaustive statistics—figures being given only for some castes. The total population for which this information by caste and civil condition by ages is given is less than 40 lacs.

parison of their total contribution is suggested here, can be really representative only if the total families of these groups correspond to their distribution both as regards the ages of wives at marriage as well as the different durations of marriages to the respective distribution observed in this sample as tabulated in Tables III and IV.

TABLE III.

Number of families with specific ages of wife at marriage per 100 families of the group.

Group.	Age of wife at marriage.									
	Below 15			15-19			20 and above.			
	Deccan.	Gujarat.	Konkan.	Deccan.	Gujarat.	Konkan.	Deccan.	Gujarat.	Konkan.	
Advanced	52.4	36	37.8	42.5	58.2	59.1	5.1	5.8	3.1	
Intermediate	59.2	31.3	34.5	37	55.5	58.8	3.6	13.2	6.7	
Backward	53.3	27.3	32.3	41.9	56.5	56.8	4.8	14.2	10.9	
Depressed	56	28.4	29.8	39.5	56.5	60.4	4.5	15.1	9.8	

N. B. This table is prepared from the figures in Sex Table II of the Census of India 1931, Bombay Presidency Report p. 402.

TABLE IV.

Number of families with duration of marriage with present wife for specific number of years per 100 families of the group.

Group	Duration in years.											
	10 years and under			11-19			20-31			32 & over		
	Deccan	Gujarat	Konkan	Deccan	Gujarat	Konkan	Deccan	Gujarat	Konkan	Deccan	Gujarat	Konkan
Advanced...	38.9	34.9	36.4	30.3	30.5	34.6	23.4	25.9	21.2	7.4	7.7	7.8
Intermediate	35.8	28.9	34.3	31.7	31.8	35.3	24.5	29.9	23.7	8	9.4	6.7
Backward...	33.2	27.5	33.8	33.1	34.6	34.7	26.3	28	21.5	7.4	9.9	5
Depressed	33.4	22.3	35.3	32.8	31.7	32.3	25.2	23.1	24.5	8.6	7.9	7.9

N. B. This table is prepared from figures presented in Sex Table V of the Census of India 1931, Bombay Presidency Report p. 438.

The Superintendent of the Baroda Census on the basis of the age distribution comes to just the opposite conclusion to that deduced by the Bombay Superintendents. Commenting on the following Table, which is given on page 114 of the report, he observes : "Population is being gradually re-stocked by hardier but less intellectual strata as evidenced by the lower proportion of the living amongst the children of the advanced sections."¹

TABLE V.
Age distribution by classes.

Group.	Males numbering per mille aged.				
	0-6	7-13	14-16	17-43	44 & over.
Advanced...	165	163	65	405	202
Intermediate	187	174	74	394	171
Illiterate ...	207	180	71	384	158

The following Table (Table VI) presents the total and effective fertility of the four classes of the Hindus of the Punjab, from which it is seen that the class II, which is formed of the agricultural classes, has the highest total as well as effective fertility per average marriage. Class I, which is composed of the intellectual and commercial classes, though it stands third in total fertility of a marriage, has the second highest effective fertility, the third highest, which is only slightly less than this, is shown by the working and artisan classes.

TABLE VI.
Differential Fertility.
(Punjab Hindus)

Group.	Average No. of children born per family.	No. of children surviving per 1000 born.	Average No. of children surviving per family.
Class I.	3.92	719	2.82
Class II.	4.39	717	3.15
Class III.	4.04	697	1.81
Class IV.	3.83	720	2.76

N.B. Taken from Tables III and IV on pages 179 and 181 of the Punjab Census Report 1931.

1 Baroda Census Report 1931, p. 174.

As is pointed out above mere fertility does not give a clear indication as to the quota of a particular class or group to the formation of the next generation. The proportion of married females is the other factor which in combination with the effective fertility of an average marriage of a class determines the relative strength of that class in the next generation of the population.

It will be seen from the following statement that the proportion of married females to the total number of females of a class is entirely in favour of the lower classes. It may be presumed therefore that in the Punjab some of the lower classes are contributing a larger quota to the make-up of the new generation of the population than the educationally more advanced classes.

*Number of married females per 100 females of all ages
(Punjab Hindus).*

Class I. Intellectual and commercial classes	... 43.1
Class II. Agricultural Classes	... 49.8
Class III. Working & Artisan classes	... 49.7
Class IV. Backward classes including depressed	... 50.3

N. B. Prepared from figures in the Imperial Table VIII. It is not based on an exhaustive list of castes classed in the various groups but covers a population of more than 56 lacs.

The above discussion raises a presumption that the problem of differential fertility adversely affecting the educationally advanced classes of the Hindus does seem to exist and that for its proper elucidation further investigation is necessary.

With the help of the data furnished by the present enquiry it is possible to carry the analysis a step further and to see if the different classes have inherently varying powers of reproduction. The data for families of completed fertility presented by the Superintendents of the Baroda and the Travancore Census is very valuable in this respect. The following tables present the average fertility of a completed marriage by classes.

TABLE VII.

*Differential Fertility in Baroda (Families of completed Fertility)
(Hindus).*

Group.	Average No. of children born per family.	No. of children surviving per 1000 born.	Average No. of children surviving per family.
Advanced ...	5.83	598	3.49
Intermediate ...	5.51	605	3.34
Illiterate ...	5.67	617	3.50

N. B. First two columns taken from the Table under para. 174, page 174 of the Census of Baroda, 1931 Report, and third column prepared from figures presented in Sex Table IV at page 185 of the same.

TABLE VIII.

*Differential Fertility (Families of completed fertility).
(Travancore Hindus)*

Group.	Average No : of children born per family.	No. of children surviving per 1000 born.	Average No. of children surviving per family.
Advanced. (Brahmin and Nayar).	6.1	748	4.6
Depressed. (Ilava and Depressed Hindus).	6.6	745	4.9
Backward Hindus.	5.9*	699*	4.1

* Figures taken from the Table under para. 196 at page 147 of the Travancore Census Report; others are prepared from the figures presented in that Table.

It is seen that the advanced sections in Baroda have the highest fertility per completed marriage, the illiterate and the intermediate sections following in this order. In Travancore, the Ilavas and the depressed Hindus lead and the advanced and backward Hindus follow. Fertility of a marriage depends on the age of wife at marriage and on its duration. In the case of families of completed fertility the upper limit of reproduction being physiologically determined, the duration of marriage is clearly dependent on the wife's age at marriage. Thus of the two factors influencing the volume of fertility it is only the age of wife at marriage which is important here. Lower the age of wife at marriage consistent with physical maturity the larger the period available for reproduction. The average fertility of a marriage in any group is thus influenced by the percentage of families with lower ages of wives at marriage. We have to see how far the observed differences in the fertility of a completed marriage as between the different groups are explicable as the result of the differences of social habits about the age of wife at marriage among them. The following tables present the percentage distribution of families of completed fertility according to

the wife's age at marriage in the three classes in Baroda and Travancore respectively.

TABLE IX.

Percentage distribution of families according to the wife's age at marriage.

(*Baroda: families of completed fertility*).

Group.	Wife's age at marriage.			
	13-14	15-19	20-29	30 and over.
Advanced.	82.5	11.6	5	0.9
Intermediate	77.3	14.7	7	1
Illiterate	71.1	19.4	8	1.5

N. B. Prepared from the figures presented in Sex Table IV at pages 185-86 of the Census of India, 1931, Baroda Report.

TABLE X

Percentage distribution of families according to wife's age at marriage.

(*Travancore: families of completed fertility*).

Group	Wife's age at marriage.			
	13-14	15-19	20-29	30 and over.
Advanced (Brahmin and Nayar.)	26.2	50.5	20.4	2.9
Depressed (Iavas and depressed Hindus)	22.4	53.8	21.2	2.6
Backward Hindus.	23.1	55.8	18.9	2.2

N. B. Prepared from figures in Table under para. 197 at page 147 of the Travancore Census Report 1931.

It is seen from the tables that the differences in the average fertility do not correspond with the differences in the percentage of families with lower ages of wife at marriage. We may deduce from this that the observed differences in the average fertility as between the different classes are due to other factors than that of lower or higher percentage of families with lower ages of wives at marriage. Further we may conclude that as when marriages continue till they have completed fertility the educationally advanced classes have fairly high average fertility the problem of differential fertility adversely affecting these classes is not one of inherently lower reproductive capacity but largely one of social habits.

If the differences in effective fertility as between the different classes do not seem to be due to inherent lower power of reproduction of the educationally advanced classes, are they the result of differential survival-rate of children of these classes? Column II of Tables VII-VIII gives the number of children surviving upto the date of enquiry out of every 1000 children born alive. As will be pointed out elsewhere this is not a satisfactory method of determining the survival-rate, for the children of the different classes have not necessarily been exposed to risk for a uniform period of time. Yet it may be used as a rough indication. It is seen that in Baroda the survival-rate varies inversely as the status but in Travancore it moves with it. In the Punjab the backward classes have the highest survival-rate, the educationally advanced following them. The following Table gives the survival-rates for the three regions of Bombay according to class of the head of the family. It is seen that nowhere do the advanced classes have the highest survival-rate and in Gujarat they have the lowest rate.

TABLE XI
*Children surviving per mille born.**

Unit	Advanced	Intermediate	Backward	Depressed
Gujarat	709.38	747.13	753.12	727.27
Deccan	664.52	671.6	684.52	664.05
Konkan	768.82	804.33	749.11	747.32

It would seem that, contrary to expectation, child-life is more risky among the advanced classes than among some others educationally

* Bombay Census Report, 1931, p. 172, Statement No. 26.

less advanced and that the problem of differential effective fertility adversely affecting the educationally advanced sections must partly be due to this fact.

Occupation and Fertility

When the economist classifies the population of a country according to its occupations he wants to know what numbers of it subsist by exploitation of a particular material or rendering of a particular service. He groups occupations on a certain basis which has the merit of disclosing to him the distribution of the country's population according to their means of subsistence. Thus he creates first the large group of occupations coming under agriculture and then sub-divides it into landlords, tenant-farmers and tenants or another group like Law which he would further analyse into various grades of the profession. He may further distinguish the clerks and office peons attached to various professions under each of the professions and may then add altogether a separate heading or two giving under each item all the clerks attached to whatever profession or all the peons engaged in all offices. He may use the heading of trade to cover under one term all those who are engaged in the complex process of passing any product from the hands of the producer to those of the consumers. He may thus include under this category people who simply act as middlemen, agents putting the producer into touch with the large stockist, the wholesale stockist and also the retailer who keeps a small shop. And he may further distinguish between all these and create a separate category for middlemen. But throughout this analysis and classification his fundamental interest is to know what numbers of the population of a country subsist by a particular mode of economic activity. When a sociologist seeks to discover relations between certain bio-social facts and occupations he first makes the tacit assumption that the followers of different occupations have generally different intrinsic bio-social values and that the scale of these values is fairly well attuned to the economic values of the occupations. The more highly paid an occupation ordinarily, the more highly endowed is believed to be its follower. He is out to discover the influence that economic status or other bio-social conditions attendant on the practice of an occupation may have on such facts as fertility or the survival-rate of children. To enable him to see the relations properly, he requires his material to be presented to him not in the large and broad categories that the economist devises but in his more detailed classification. It will be observed from the Table presented in the Census Report that the number of families supplying the details about fertility etc. according to these minuter groupings is so small that one has to follow the Census Commissioner in taking only the larger categories of occupations and tabulating the data about fertility etc. according to them. This procedure seriously impairs the value of this analysis in regard

to many occupations. The figures presented in the accompanying Table therefore should be taken with great caution and only tentative conclusions of limited application should be deduced from them.

TABLE XII.
Occupation & fertility.

Occupation.	Total fertility per family. ¹	Effective fertility per family. ²	Survival-rate of children. No. surviving per 1000 live births. ³
Cultivating owners ...	4.4	2.9	666
Agricultural labourers ...	4.3	3	702
Stock raising ...	4.1	2.7	676
Textiles ...	3.7	2.7	731
Sawyers, carpenters, turners & joiners ...	4.3	2.9	673
Industries of dress and the toilet ...	3.9	2.7	698
Trade ...	4.3	2.9	692
Public Administration ...	3.9	2.8	721
Professions & liberal Arts ...	4.3	3.1	719
Law, Medicine and Instruction ...	3.7	2.8	760
Domestic service ...	3.8	2.6	687
Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified ...	4.1	2.8	694
Unproductive ...	4.	2.9	711
Unemployed and occupation unspecified ...	3.9	2.7	696

N. B. (1) Taken from Statement IV on page 207 of the Report on the Census of India, 1931. Only those of the occupations of husbands are here selected for which at least 5000 families furnished the necessary details.

(2) Worked out from figures in the above-mentioned Statement.

It is seen from the Table (Table XII) that families whose heads are engaged in the pursuit of law, medicine and instruction have the lowest fertility while persons carrying on other professions and liberal arts, who may reasonably be supposed to be their equals socially and even perhaps economically, have decidedly higher fertility. This feature requires further investigation to enable us to see the reasons of this bio-social disparity between groups which may ordinarily be expected to show no such differences. Domestic servants have a slightly higher fertility than that of lawyers and medical men but lower than that of people engaged in unproductive occupations or ordinary labourers. This may reflect the influence of the occupation of domestic service, which commonly interrupts normal sex-life, husband and wife hardly being able to live together for a continuously long period, on the total fertility of those who follow it. It is an assuring feature that artisans like carpenters have a fairly high fertility but the equally high fertility of those engaged in agricultural pursuits is a phenomenon that requires urgent attention.

For the study of the problems of population it is rather the effective fertility of an average marriage that needs to be considered; for it determines the make-up of the next generation and gives us a fair indication of the proportions in which various social strata will contribute to it. The second column of the table gives the average number of children surviving up to the date of enquiry per average marriage. It is seen from it that persons following professions and liberal arts have the largest effective fertility and that domestic servants have the lowest. The effective fertility of the cultivating owners and artisans like carpenters is lower than that of the agricultural labourers and is equalled by that of persons who are unproductive. Persons engaged in Public Administration and in the pursuit of law, medicine and instruction have lower effective fertility than that of the unproductive families but equal to that of ordinary labourers. If the relative fertilities, revealed by this enquiry—and here the reader is particularly requested to remember the preliminary remarks—reflect the true state of affairs then it may be safely asserted that the next generation of our population is being dysgenically made up, unless there are large differences between the various sections of the population as regards the rate of marriage.

The third column presents the rate of survival of children among the various occupations and reveals a number of anomalies. Thus while the cultivating owners' children show the lowest rate those of unproductive people take the fifth rank in survival-rate and those of textile workers the second, the children of persons engaged in law, medicine and instruction leading all.¹ While reading this column of the

1. See the following statement.

table, I must again mention that this part of the enquiry as pointed out elsewhere, is open to serious defects.

STATEMENT.
Occupation and Fertility.

Occupation.	Rank according to strength of total fertility.	Rank according to strength of effective fertility.	Rank according to survival rate of children.
Cultivating owners ...	I	III	XIV
Agricultural Labourers ...	II	II	VI
Stock-raising ...	III	V	XII
Textiles ...	VII	V	II
Sawyers, carpenters, turners and joiners ...	II	III	XIII
Industries of dress and the toilet ...	V	V	VII
Trade ...	II	III	X
Public Administration ...	V	IV	III
Professions and Liberal Arts ...	II	I	IV
Law, Medicine and instruction ...	VII	IV	I
Domestic Service ...	VI	VI	XI
Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified ...	III	IV	IX
Unproductive ...	III	IV	V
Unemployed and occupations unspecified ...	V	V	VIII

Wife's Age at Marriage and Fertility.

The following table presents the average number of children born alive per family with specific age of wife at marriage irrespective of the duration of marriage.

TABLE XIII.
Wife's Age at Marriage and total Fertility.

Wife's age at marriage.	Number of children born alive per family.					
	India.	Baroda.	C. P. and Berar.	Madras.	Punjab.	Travancore.
0-12	3.8	...	3.88	...	3.65	...
13-14	4.2	5.74		3.24	3.71	7.0
15-19	4.1	5.83	3.90	3.42	3.84	6.5
20-29	4.3	5.19	4.0	3.49	4.46	5.7
30 and over.	5.1	3.51	5.3	3.42	6.50	3.6

N. B. Taken from the respective Reports on the Census.

It is seen that in the Punjab for the wife's age at marriage 30 and over, a family has the largest fertility. This is very much contrary to expectation as in such marriages the period available for reproduction is very small compared with families in which the wife's age at marriage is 15-19 for example. The Superintendent of the Punjab Census observes: "The apparently higher rate for women marrying after the age of 30 is due to the fact that the majority of them are widows who are likely to mix up the children born of some previous marriage with those born after remarriage."¹ While discussing the relation between the age of wife at marriage and its total fertility, we may, therefore leave out of consideration the age-group, 30 and over in the Punjab, C. P. and Berar, and India. Confining our attention to the other age-periods it is seen that fertility is waywardly distributed in the different age-periods and the Provinces. Leaving aside Baroda and Travancore for special consideration, it is seen that in the case of C. P. and Berar, Madras and Punjab women marrying at later ages have larger average fertility; and in the case of India this correlation is only slightly disturbed by the fact that women marrying between 15-19 have a slightly lower fertility than that of those marrying between 13-14. In Baroda and Travancore on the other hand, where the figures are based on families of completed fertility, women marrying at 20 and thereafter have distinctly smaller fertility than women marrying before 20. This observation raises the question as to whether the nature of the material,—viz., the fact that the families of C. P. and Berar,

¹ Report, p. 181.

Madras and Punjab, considered in the sample, represent various durations of marriages, whether its fertility is completed or continuing—is responsible for this difference between the fertility in these Provinces and in those of Baroda and Travancore.

It is necessary therefore to analyse the data further so as to see how the various durations of marriage are distributed with respect to the different ages of wives at marriage. Such analysis will enable us, to see, for instance, if families in which the age of wife at marriage is below 15 or below 20 have amongst them a larger percentage with smaller durations of marriage, thus reducing their fertility. The following tables present the necessary data by which this question may be decided.

TABLE XIV.

Percentage distribution of families with specific age of wife at marriage according to duration of marriage with present wife. (India).

Duration of marriage with present wife in years.	Age of wife at marriage.				
	0-12	13-14	15-19	20-29	30 and over.
0-9	20.6	39.2	45	39.2	35.6
10-14	24.8	19.7	20	20.5	20.4
15 and over	54.6	41.1	35	40.3	44

N. B. Prepared from figures presented in Statement. II at page 206 of the Census of India 1931, India Report. They deal with 12,04,533 families while the total and effective fertility figures are based on the sample of 5,68,628 families for which this distribution is not separately available.

TABLE XV.

Percentage distribution of families with specific age of wife at marriage according to duration of marriage with present wife (C. P. and Berar.)

Duration of marriage with present wife in years.	Age of wife at marriage.			
	Below 15	15-19	20-29	30 and over
0-9	29.3	32.7	30.8	{ Very small number.
10-14	41.2	18.9	23.9	
15 and over.	29.5	48.4	45.3	

N. B. Prepared from figures presented in Sex Table V at page 171 of the Census of India, 1931, C. P. and Berar Report.

TABLE XVI.

*Percentage distribution of families with specific age of wife at marriage according to duration of marriage with present wife.
(Madras)*

Duration of marriage with present wife in years.	Age of wife at marriage.			
	13-14	15-19	20-29	30 and over.
0-9	35.	34.8	33	
10-14	21.2	20.6	19.4	{ Very small number,
15 and over.	43.8	44.6	47.5	

N. B. Prepared from figures in Fertility Table IV on page 152 of the Census of India, 1931, Madras Report.

TABLE XVII.

*Percentage distribution of families with specific age of wife at marriage according to duration of marriage with present wife.
(Punjab)*

Duration of marriage with present wife in years.	Age of wife at marriage.				
	0-12	13-14	15-19	20-29	30 and over.
0-9	20	27.5	26.7	24.3	17.6
10-14	21	22.3	19.4	20.2	21
15 and over.	59	50.2	53.9	55.5	61.4

N. B. Prepared from figures in Table V on page 182 of the Census of India, 1931, Punjab Report.

It is seen from these tables that for India families with wife's age at marriage being under 13 have a far larger percentage of them with duration of marriage over 15 years and a far smaller percentage with duration of marriage under 10 years than those with higher ages of wife at marriage. And yet as we have seen the average fertility of a family with wife's age at marriage below 13 is the smallest. As between families with the wife's age between 13-14 and 15-19, the percentage of families with the smallest duration is distinctly larger and that

of families with the greatest duration distinctly smaller in the families with wife's age at marriage being 15-19 than in those with the wife's age being 13-14. With such distribution of the durations of marriage we expect smaller average fertility for families with wife's age at marriage being 15-19 than for those with 13-14; and we find this to be actually the case. On the other hand for the next age-period of wife's age at marriage this correlation holds good as between that period and the previous but not between it and that with wife's age at marriage being 13-14. Families with wife's age at marriage being 20-29 have the same percentage of them with duration of marriage under 10 years as those with wife's age at marriage being 13-14; but they have a slightly smaller percentage in the duration-period of 15 years and over than the latter. And yet as we have seen they have a slightly higher fertility than those with wife's age at marriage being 13-14.

For C. P. and Berar the percentage of families with duration of marriage being 15 years and over is by far the smallest for families with wife's age at marriage being under 15 and is the largest for families with wife's age being 15-19. As for the smallest duration of marriage families with wife's age at marriage being 15-19 have the largest percentage and those with wife's age below 15 years the smallest. And yet as we have seen, average fertility of a family steadily increases with the wife's age at marriage.

In Madras families with wife's age at marriage being 13-14 have a slightly larger percentage of families with duration of marriage under 10 years and slightly lower percentage of those with duration of marriage over 15 years than families with wife's age at marriage being 15-19. Similarly these latter families have a slightly higher percentage of them with duration of marriage under 10 years and a much lower percentage of those with over 15 years' duration than families with wife's age at marriage being 20-29. Consistently with this distribution, as we have seen, the average fertility is steadily greater for the higher ages of wife at marriage.

In the Punjab families with wife's age at marriage under 13 years have a very high percentage of them, only second to that of families with wife's age over 29 years, with duration of marriage for over 15 years and a very small percentage, only higher than that of families with wife's age over 29 years, with duration of marriage for less than 10 years. And yet their average fertility is the smallest. Beginning with families with the wife's age at marriage being 13-14 it is seen that the percentage of families with duration of marriage under 10 years is progressively smaller while that of families with duration of marriage over 15 years is similarly greater for the higher ages of wife at marriage. This distribution agrees well with the distribution of

average fertility, which, as we have seen, rises with the wife's age at marriage.

On the whole we may say that the rise of average total fertility of marriage with the wife's age at marriage is roughly correlated with higher percentage of families having longer duration of marriage and smaller percentage of them having shorter duration of marriage. This conclusion could have been better substantiated if we could have explained the apparent exceptions, particularly in respect of the longest duration of marriage, viz., 15 years and over, if we could have further analysed the data for this duration-period of marriage. But unfortunately the Census Reports do not present the necessary data to enable us to differentiate between duration of marriages as 15 to 19 years, 20 to 29 years and so on or as any other subdivision of the group '15 and over'.

If, as is suggested above, it is probable that variation in the duration of marriage affects its average fertility the data from Baroda and Travancore become very valuable as they are based on families of completed fertility, thus obviating the disturbing influence of the factor of variation in the duration of marriage apart from the age of wife at marriage. It is seen from Table XII that the results of the two sets of data do not agree *inter se*. While in Baroda women marrying between 15-19 have the highest average fertility, those marrying between 13-14 having the next lower with women marrying between 20-29 and 30 and over following in that order, in Travancore women marrying between 13-14 have the highest average fertility which decreases steadily with the rise in wife's age at marriage. Are we to conclude from this disagreement that the populations of Baroda and Travancore are so different from each other in their bio-social conditions that this difference in average fertility as correlated with wife's age at marriage must be taken to be real and ethnic difference? If this is ethnic difference then to study such bio-social phenomena as fertility etc., for the whole of India as a unit would be *a priori* utterly wrong. Before we accept this position as correct we have to see if the two sets of data are thoroughly comparable or whether this observed difference in the behaviour of fertility is also accompanied by some disturbing factors which are not properly eliminated from the data.

The fertility data of the Baroda Census of 1921 based on completed families does not entirely agree with that of 1931 Census. The former showed that women marrying between 20-29 though they had lower fertility than those marrying between 15-19 yet had higher fertility than those marrying between 13-14, a fact which raises a presumption that some disturbing factor is at work. And here it must be mentioned that the age of wife at marriage in families hailing from

the educationally backward classes is more a guess than a correct statement. The Superintendent of the Baroda Census of 1931 observes : "The age for Intermediate and Illiterate sections was in the bulk of instances guessed from the appearance of the women".¹ And evidently it was this age minus the period of duration of marriage that gave the age of wife at marriage. Further as between the two samples, that of Baroda and of Travancore, there is lack of perfect comparability. Whereas in the Baroda sample families with wife's age at marriage 15-19 are only 18.8 per cent. of the families with wife's age 13-14, in the Travancore sample they are a little over 150 per cent. of the latter. Under these circumstances we cannot look upon the difference in the behaviour of fertility as correlated with wife's age at marriage as an ethnic characteristic.

If we add together the data of the two samples we get families with wife's age at marriage 15-19 forming 40.1 per cent. of those with wife's age at marriage 13-14. The following Table gives the results based on this combined sample.

TABLE XVIII.
*Average Fertility Correlated with wife's age at marriage.
(Baroda and Travancore data combined.)*

Wife's age at marriage.	Average number of children born per family.	Average number of children surviving per family.
13-14	5.95	3.77
15-19	6.26	4.38
20-29	5.47	3.77
30 and over	3.57	2.33

It is seen that women marrying at 15-19 years have the highest average fertility, those marrying at 13-14 coming next and those marrying at 20-29 and after 29 years following in that order.

Tentatively we may conclude that marriage at woman's age between 15 and 19 results in higher fertility than marriage between 13-14. This conclusion is of great practical importance. There can be no doubt that age of woman at marriage at present in our country is too low. The following table presents the percentage distribution of the families in the present sample according to wife's age at marriage and main religions of the country.

1. Report, p. 176.

TABLE XIX.

*Percentage distribution of families according to wife's age at marriage.
(India).*

Group.	Wife's age at marriage.			
	Under 15	15-19	20-29	30 & over.
All Religions	40·7	43·6	13·8
Christian	34·2	51·6	12·9
Hindu	45·3	43·4	9·9
Muslim	30·1	43·6	23
Sikh	36·7	45·5	15·6
				2·2

N. B. Prepared from figures presented in Statement VI, page 210 of the Census of India, 1931, India Report.

It is seen that in more than 40 per cent. of the families considered the wife was married before she was 15 years of age and that the Hindus are the worst defaulters, in their case the percentage being more than 45. It can be easily argued on many grounds that the age of woman at marriage should be 19 rather than 15. It is very necessary to do our utmost to raise the age of woman at marriage so that no woman is married at least before she is 16 years of age. If the above tentative conclusion about the correlation between fertility and age of woman at marriage should prove to be correct then with the increase in woman's age at marriage, which is quite essential, there would be an increase in the fertility of marriage. As it is, I believe our population is very large and our increase undesirable and to help its increase at a greater rate would be suicidal. With our efforts to raise the woman's age at marriage, therefore, there must also be carried on an intensive campaign for control of birth.

It is thus seen that the problem of the correlation between woman's age at marriage and the average fertility of marriage is one of great national importance and it is very necessary we should have an authoritative decision on that. It is highly to be desired that a proper investigation is carried out so as to eliminate the disturbing factors pointed out above and to render the conclusion valid. At present a study of the families of completed and continuing fertility belonging to the educationally advanced classes with full details about the durations of marriage is what will give us such a conclusion.

Viability of Children.

Viability of children is influenced by various factors chief among which are some of a more or less biological nature, like the interval between two consecutive births, size of the family and the age of mother at marriage. This last factor is discussed in many of the Census Reports on the basis of the present enquiry. The following Table presents the data in a form convenient for such a discussion.

TABLE XX.

Viability of children correlated with wife's age at marriage.

Wife's age at marriage.	Number of children surviving upto date of enquiry per 1000 children born alive to wives with specific ages at marriage.					
	India	Baroda	C. P. & Berar	Madras	Punjab	Travancore
0-12	728				742	
13-14	782	602*	679	730	712	764*
15-19	710	612*	738	729	703	749*
20-29	709	614	681	714	721	747
30 & over	708	540*	627	618	744	794*

N. B. Figures marked thus* are taken from the respective Census Reports : page 177 Baroda and page 149 Travancore : the rest are worked out from the figures in Statement III at page 206 of India Report, Sex Table V page 186 of Baroda Report, Sex Table IV page 171 C. P. & Berar Report, Fertility Table III page 152 of Madras Report, Table IV pages 180-181 of Punjab Report and Statement under para. 198 page 148 of Travancore Report.

It is seen from this Table that no two units agree in the distribution of the survival-rate of children according to the age of mother at marriage. But if we leave the age-group 0-12 out of account then India and Madras agree in this that beginning with the age of wife at marriage 13-14, for which survival-rate of children is the highest, it steadily decreases with higher ages of wives at marriage. The reason for this very limited agreement is not far to seek. Survival-rate thus worked out to see the relation between woman's age at marriage and the viability of children is open to serious objections. The rate of survival is based upon children born alive and those living upto the date of enquiry. The various children included have been open to risk of life over a varying period of time and not all the children surviving have survived upto a fixed period of time. Then there is the disturbing factor of the size of the family and the economic status of families. It seems all these factors combined give us an altogether wayward distribution of the survival-rate in relation to the age of wife at

marriage. For a proper study of this relation we must confine our enquiry to families of a similar economic status and work out the rate on the basis of children living upto a fixed limit of time. The most significant period would be the beginning of adult stage of life. Till such data are available it is futile to try to draw any deductions about the relation between age of woman at marriage and the viability of children.

Duration of marriage, the size of family and the rate of its increase.

It is seen that the total fertility of an average marriage depends to some extent on the age of woman at marriage. And in the discussion of the relation between total fertility and the age of wife at marriage we have taken for consideration both the completed families as well as the continuing ones. In the completed families the question of varying durations of marriage does not present any serious difficulties in the way of a proper discussion of the relation between total fertility and the age of wife at marriage. The families are such that the wives have either reached or passed over the limit when further maternity is physically impossible. The only source disturbing the equality of the period available for maternity is thus the difference in the ages of wives at marriage. And it is precisely with this difference in the ages of wives at marriage that the connection of total fertility is sought to be discovered. In the continuing families on the other hand the wives have not reached the limit of reproduction and the families with different ages of wives at marriage have not had equal period over which maternity has been possible. But as in each group consisting of families with specific age of wife at marriage, there are families of varied durations it is presumed that averaging the fertilities of such families gives the average fertility of an average marriage. And on this presumption the fertility of the families with different ages of wives at marriage are compared. It is pointed out in that discussion that the true relation between the age of wife at marriage and total fertility cannot be established unless we eliminate whatever disturbing influence varying durations of marriage may have on total fertility. It is therefore proposed to scan the Census data to see how far it enables us to gauge the influence of duration of marriage on its total fertility.

The following Table presents the average number of children born alive per 100 families of each duration of marriage in that period :—

TABLE XXI.
Duration of marriage and total Fertility.

Duration of marriage in years.	Average number of children born alive per 100 families.							
	India.	Pakistan.	Baroda.	Bombay.	C. P. and Berars.	Jammu and Kashmir.	Punjab.	Travancore.
0-9	171	237	149	199	196	159	187	126
10	369	314	250	329	307	369	284	275
11-19	400	400	372	418	412	399	405	413
20-31	531	477	546	539	533	498*	525	569
32	592	630	569	574	636	510	636	641
33 and over	582	647	519	612	668	528	626	665

N. B. Worked out from figures in Statement V of the Census Report of India, part I and Table VI of the Part II (Tables) except for Baroda, Punjab and Travancore figures for which are taken from their Census Reports, pages 151, 184 and 149 respectively.

It is seen from this Table that every succeeding and longer period of duration of marriage in India and in every Province and State shows larger number of children born than the preceding one.

* This is the correct figure. Worked out from the figures in Table VI of Part II of the first volume of the Census of India, 1931, it comes to be 294 which is so small that I at once suspected its correctness and began to look out for an explanation. First I thought that perhaps the distribution of families according to the different ages of wives at marriage was in this particular example so different from that in the other units of durations of marriages that it brought about this rather strange phenomenon-fertility for this duration being so low. On working out the percentage-distribution of families with different durations of married life according to the age of wife at marriage from the available figures it was seen that differences in this distribution were so small as, in all likelihood, not to produce this striking result. Turning to the Census Report on Jammu and Kashmir I saw that the figures for fertility according to the duration of marriage were given for different castes and creeds. The addition showed the figures in Part II of the India Report to be correct but also revealed that the figures for Rajputs under the column of families of 20-31 years' duration were not correctly given. There are 24,021 families with 20-31 years' duration of marriage. The average number of children born per family given is 4.8 and yet the total number of children born to these families is given as 1,472. Evidently there is here some error. Taking 4.8 to be really 4.7 and multiplying the number of families by this figure, the total number of children is found to be 114,890. I have taken the correct number of children born to these families to be 114,720, retaining the digits given in the Census Report of Jammu and Kashmir and making the nearest correction. The figure for India in this Table is also based on this correction.

except in one period. Families with duration of marriage being 33 years and over in the case of India, Baroda and the Punjab not only do not show a larger number of children born than the families with 32 years of married life but actually record a smaller number. Perhaps the explanation of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the number of families with 32 years duration of marriage are limited and therefore are not representative. If the two periods of duration, that of 32 years and of 33 years and over, are combined, the increase in the number of children born is smoothly larger in each successive period of duration. To make the periods, as nearly as possible large and uniform, averages for the first two periods combined—viz. that under 10 years and one of 10 years—are also given in the Table.

The different periods of duration, for which the number of children born per one hundred families are given, are of unequal length, and these averages cannot form an adequate measure of comparison of reproductive force during the different durations of a marriage starting with its beginning. To get this measure the averages for the different periods must be further reduced to the common basis of one year in each period. This measure may be called the rate of increase per 100 families per year during the period and may be conveniently used to determine the varying strength of reproductive force as it operates during the different periods of duration of marriage.

The first period of duration of marriage, under 10 years, comprises 10 years of married life and supposing the families to be equally distributed in the different years of this unit 5 years may be taken as the average of the period. The children born to families of under 10 years' duration of marriage may be taken as children born to families where marriage has endured on an average 5 years. The next period of duration viz., 10 years complete, has run over $10\frac{1}{2}$ years and therefore registers an interval of $5\frac{1}{2}$ years over the mid-year of the first period. Children born to families with 10 years of marriage-duration minus the children born to families with the first period of duration are the excess children born to the families in the interval of $5\frac{1}{2}$ years that elapsed between the mid-year of duration of marriage of the families in the first period and the period of duration of marriage of the families in the second period. The third period with 11-19 years' duration of marriage comprises 9 years and the average is $15\frac{1}{2}$. The interval between the last period and this is then 5 years. The next period of 20-31 years' duration comprises 12 years and the average is 26. The interval between the preceding period and this one is thus 10 years and a half. The last period may be taken as 32 years and above. As the upper limit of this period is not known it is rather difficult to determine its length. But as whatever the actual duration of a marriage may be the physical limit of reproduction is marked by the menopause of

woman, and as here we are concerned with measuring the rate of reproduction, it is this limit that must be taken as the upper boundary of this period. Thus for our purposes the average age of 45 which is held to mark the menopause may be taken as the outside limit of the period. The average age of woman at marriage for the sample under consideration is not available but it seems it cannot be less than 13 as the Table of the Percentage Distribution of Families according to the wife's age at marriage will make it clear. Thus between the actual complete exhaustion of the power of reproduction and the date of marriage there elapse on an average not more than 34 years. This last period therefore is really comprised of only two years and the average may be taken as 33. The interval between the average of the preceding period and that of this is thus 7 years.

On this basis the average number of children born per 100 families per year in the first period of duration and the average number of children born per 100 families per year in the intervals between two succeeding periods are given in the following Table :—

TABLE XXII.
Duration of marriage and rate of reproduction.

Duration of marriage in years.	Number of children born per year per 100 families in the interval between two consecutive durations of marriage.							
	India.	Baluchistan	Baroda.	Bombay.	C. P. and Berar.	Jammu and Kashmir.	Punjab.	Traivancore.
0-9	34.2	47.4	29.8	39.8	39	31.8	37.4	25.2
10	25.1	17.6	20	23.6	20.4	38.2	17.6	27.1
11-19	18.2	17.2	22.6	17.8	21	6	24.2	27.6
20-31	12.5	7.3	16.8	11.5	13.4	9.4	11.4	14.9
32 and over	7.5	24	3.1	9.6	15.6	3.9	7.4	13.1

It is seen from this Table that only in the case of India and Bombay there is a regular decline in the average which is the highest in the first period of duration viz., under 10 years. None of the Provincial and State units, for which data is available, shows such regula-

rity; may the averages show great waywardness. What is the reason for this discrepancy? *A priori* a close relation between the period of duration of marriage and rate of reproduction is expected. The longer the duration the less should be the rate of reproduction and yet our averages do not bear out this relation. We cannot jump to the conclusion that the expected relation does not really exist without further analysing the data because the investigations of Dunlop and Stevenson¹ have established such a relation for British families. Perhaps the distribution of families with different ages of wives at marriage in the different units of duration of marriage is the disturbing factor. The data for working out such distribution for the particular units of duration of marriage, chosen for the study of the relation between duration and rate of reproduction, is not available. The following Table is all that can be constructed from the material presented in the Census Reports.

TABLE XXIII.

Percentage distribution of families with specific duration of marriage according to the age of wife at marriage.

A. Duration of marriage under 10 years.

Age of wife at marriage.	India.	Baroda.	Bombay.	C. P. and Berar.	Jammu and Kashmir.	Punjab.	Travancore.
0 - 12	2·1	...	43·3	15·7	...	14·1	...
13 - 14	41·3	84·		37·5	22·7	22·6	26
15 - 19	46·5	12·9	49·	40·8	55·3	45·1	59·5
20 - 29	9·1	2·7	6·9	5·5	19·4	16·2	13·7
30 & over.	1·	·4	·8	·5	·2·6	2·	·8

1. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Vols. 77 and 83.

B. Duration of marriage 10-14 years.

Age of wife at marriage.	India.	Baroda.	Bombay.	C. P. and Berar.	Jammu and Kashmir.	Punjab.	Travancore.
0 - 12	5·1	..	44·9	45·8	..	18·2	..
13 - 14	42·1	84·8	44·9	26·8	26·	22·4	30·3
15 - 19	41·9	12·1	47·6	22·9	54·	40·	55·6
20 - 29	9·7	2·7	6·7	4·2	17·4	16·6	13·8
30 & over.	1·2	4	8	3	2·5	2·8	3

C. Duration of marriage 15 years and over.

Age of wife at marriage.	India.	Baroda.	Bombay.	C. P. and Berar.	Jammu and Kashmir.	Punjab.	Travancore.
0 - 12	5·8	..	45·6	2	..	19·3	..
13 - 14	45·2	84·6	45·6	43·4	24·3	18·9	42·9
15 - 19	37·9	12·	47·	49·	56·6	41·7	50
20 - 29	9·8	3·1	6·6	6·6	16·4	17	7
30 and over.	1·3	3	8	8	2·7	3·1	1

N. B. Prepared from figures in Fertility Table II of the Second Part of the India Report of the Census of India, 1931. The sample on which these Tables are based is larger than the sample on which fertility according to duration of marriage is based.

It is seen that the only comparable Unit is the period of duration of marriage for less than 10 years. It may be surmised that a Provincial Unit which has a larger percentage of families, with this period of duration of marriage and with the wife's age at marriage between 15-29, is likely to have a larger rate of reproduction than another with smaller percentage of such families. Wives with ages

between 15-29 are physically more fit for immediate maternity than wives below 15. It is seen from the above Tables that in the matter of this percentage Kashmir and Travancore, which are very close to each other, stand out much above the others. Then follows Punjab. Then Bombay and India come very close to each other. C. P. and Berar stand next with Baroda coming last with a very large margin. But the rate of reproduction during the first 10 years of married life is highest in Bombay with C. P. and Berar following closely. Punjab shows the next highest rate and India follows with a similar difference. Kashmir comes next with even a smaller difference between its and India's rates and Baroda follows with a similar difference. The lowest rate is that of Travancore with a larger difference than that existing between Kashmir and Baroda. For easier comparison the analysis may be presented in the tabular form as below :—

Provincial or State Unit.	Rank according to the percentage of families with wife's age at marriage between 15-29.	Rank according to the rate of reproduction.
Baroda	VII	VI
Bombay	IV	I
C. P. & Berar	VI	II
India	V	IV
Jammu and Kashmir	I	V
Punjab	III	III
Travancore	II	VII

This lack of correlation between the percentage of families with wife's age at marriage between 15-29 and the rate of reproduction during the first 10 years of married life seen in our material is not to be taken to establish their independence of each other. The other question that arises in this discussion of the rate of reproduction and the duration of marriage is whether the observed differences in the behaviour of this rate in the various Provincial and State Units in relation to the duration of marriage are the results of bio-social differences in their populations. Before we can legitimately admit such differences we must base our analysis on a more uniform and representative sample. Thus, for example, we must have details of the families

where marriage has endured for the period 20-31 years and where it has endured for the period of 11-19 years in respect of their fertilities during the earlier periods of duration. With the material at our disposal I doubt if we can take the data for India as a representative sample and draw the conclusion that with longer duration of marriage the rate of reproduction in the later intervals is progressively less.

Husband's age at marriage, and fertility of marriage.

In the analysis of fertility of marriage according to the age of wife at marriage the influence of husband's age on fertility has not been taken into account though there is some reason to think that this factor too has some influence on the fertility of marriage and perhaps also on the survival-rate of children. Material for such analysis of fertility in relation to both the age of husband and of wife at marriage are not available in fair abundance. Only the Baroda Census Report presents such data. The data presented in Kashmir report are not confined to marriages of completed fertility¹ and that presented in the Travancore Report fails to take account of the wife's age at marriage in relation to husband's age at marriage.²

The following Table gives the results of the material in the Baroda Report recast in a way to correspond with the age-groups, taken as basis for other analysis.

TABLE XXIV.
Fertility of marriage and survival-rate of children in relation to the ages of husband and wife at marriage. (Baroda)

Husband's age at Marriage	Wife's age at marriage					
	13-14		15-19		20-29	
	Average No. of children born alive per family.	Average No. of children surviving per 100 born.	Average No. of children born alive per family.	Average No. of children surviving per 100 born.	Average No. of children born alive per family.	Average No. of children surviving per 100 born.
13-19	5.93	61.00	6.22	62.5	Too small a number	Too small a number
20-29	5.72	60.4	5.94	61.6	5.40	65
30-49	5.60	59.7	69.5	64.5	5.05	63.2

1. See page 153, para. 143 of the Report.

2. See page 160, Table VIII of the Report.

N. B. Prepared from figures in Table VI, page 186 of the Report on the Baroda Census.

It is seen from the above Table that at any particular group of wife's age at marriage the higher the age of husband at marriage, lower is the total fertility of marriage. The same conclusion also results if we recast the figures for fertility with respect to the age of husband at marriage irrespective of the age of wife at marriage as the following statement will show:—

Age of husband at marriage.	Total fertility per family.
13-19	5.94
20-29	5.74
30-49	5.24

The highest fertility of marriage is attained when the wife at marriage is aged 15-19 and the husband aged 13-19 or in other words younger than her by one year on an average. The next higher fertility is achieved by families where the wife's age is the same as in the group of the highest fertility but the husband is older than the wife by $7\frac{1}{2}$ years on an average. About equal fertility is also seen in families with different age-periods of both husband and wife. They have the wife aged 13-14 and the husband 13-19 i. e. older than the wife by $2\frac{1}{2}$ years on an average. Thus it would appear that the age of husband and also that of the wife at marriage are factors influencing the volume of total fertility of a marriage. The material at our disposal, having a very varying number of families and being a small sample, does not admit of a further analysis with a view to determining the relative strength of these two factors in the causation of total fertility.

The survival-rate of children in families at different ages of husband and of wife at marriage show a somewhat wayward distribution. As I have already pointed out the survival-rate of children based on the number of the children living upto the date of enquiry and not on the number living upto a certain age is likely to be vitiated according as the age of wife at marriage is early or late.

G. S. GHURYE

20th June, 1934.

POVERTY OF CHINA—SOME CAUSES.

China's Poverty

China like India is a poor country. In some respects the standard of living in China seems to be even lower than that of India. According to Dr. Sun Yat-Sen large numbers of the Chinese do not get the five essentials of material life—food, clothing, shelter, means of locomotion and the printed page.¹ Famine is a thing of every day occurrence; indeed it is not without justification that Mallory calls China a land of famine.² Sometimes these famines are so severe that a very large number of people die. Strange as it may seem, however, those who die are really more fortunate than those who live. The fundamental problem of China, as of India, is of food and other primary necessities of life. The fact is reflected even in the speech of the people. We are told that in China the polite salutation after meeting a friend is "Have you eaten" instead of the customary enquiry into one's health or well-being usually employed in other languages.³

We shall study here some of the main factors responsible for the poverty of China. Such a study will be both interesting and instructive to us in this country where we have to grapple with problems nearly similar to those of China. But before doing so we shall notice some physical features of that country which have affected her economic and social life.

Size of the Country.

China or more properly the Chinese Republic is an area of large dimensions. It consists at present of twenty-five provinces excluding Mongolia and Tibet, as well as the three provinces of Manchuria and Chinese Turkestan.⁴ Recently Manchuria has been formed into a new State—Manchukuo. The total area of these provinces is about 1·8 million square miles. This extensive size has not been beneficial to China's welfare; as we shall see later, it is, for instance, a main obstacle in maintaining political peace and security in the country. As an English writer⁵ has remarked, the natural conditions of China do not seem favourable for that unity and homogeneity which have contributed so much for the success of Japan.

1. Sun Yat-Sen: *The International Development of China*, p. 199.

2. Mallory: *China: A Land of Famine*.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

4. M. T. Z. Tyau: *Two Years of Nationalist China*, p. 34.

5. Sir Fredrick Whyte: *China and the Foreign Powers*, p. 1.

If we look at the map of China the most important topographical feature that we notice is the series of great rivers which cross it from west to east and thus open highways between the coast and the interior. The fertile valleys of these rivers and their tributaries are the chief centres of dense population. Many of these rivers are subject to floods; at times, the level of the Hwang-ho or the Yangtza, for instance, rises as much as about fifteen to twenty feet above the country-side.¹ Such floods cause heavy destruction of life and property though they also bring with them a large amount of silt and fertilize the affected areas. If steps are taken to protect the people from these floods then large numbers who now perish may live. The Nationalist Government of China is trying to do something in the matter but its achievements have so far been very small on account of its limited financial resources and other impediments in the way. These great navigable rivers exercise a good influence also; they connect the different areas on their coast, thus helping commerce and are mainly responsible for whatever cultural and economic unity that China has.

Natural Resources and Poverty.

Without going into details we may state that the natural resources of China, though not yet fully developed, are not quite unsatisfactory. She grows a large variety of crops. Her mineral resources especially in coal and iron, are very great though of course they have not yet been exploited to any considerable extent on account of lack of transport facilities, adequate capital resources and a host of other difficulties.

Though the natural resources and physical conditions of China cannot be said to be unsatisfactory, the economic conditions of the Chinese people, as mentioned before, are far from enviable. There are various factors that are responsible for this state of affairs. We may group the more important of them under two main heads: (1) problem of population, and (2) lack of development of agriculture and industry. We shall study these in some detail.

I. Problem of Population.

The fundamental factor contributing to poverty in China as that in India is over-population,² though poverty in itself may in turn be the cause of over-population. This is the opinion of many Chinese writers³ as well as foreigners who have visited China. The statement

1. Stamp: *Asia*, p. 460.

2. Tawsey: *Land and Labour in China*, p. 141.

3. Cf. the remarks of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen made as early as 1894: "At present China is suffering from overpopulation which will bring impending danger in its wake. She is confronted with great many hidden uprisings and frequent famines. It is extremely difficult for the people to make a living even during good years, and in times of great drought and famine many people will starve to death. Our food problem is already very acute. The situation will be much worse as time goes on. If we take no timely means of remedy it will surely worry us".—Quoted in J. B. Caudillife: *China: Economic*, p. 160.

that China is over-populated may seem absurd to some who may retort that China has a big area and some parts of the country are sparsely populated and can well absorb a larger number of people. They may also point to the considerable agricultural, mineral and natural resources of the country yet undeveloped, and call it foolish to explain the poverty of China on the ground of overpopulation. But this does not seem to be correct. China is overpopulated in the sense that her population has passed the optimum point¹; she is overpopulated in relation to her present economic development. It is true that considerable resources of China are still undeveloped but given even an efficient Government it will take years to develop them. What is the present population to do during that period except to die of starvation and diseases resulting therefrom?

Chinese Social System and Growth of Population.

The ultimate cause of overpopulation in China is the social philosophy and traditions of the people. Even more than the Hindus, the Chinese are very anxious to have sons to take care of the family shrines and graves. Marriage among them is universal and takes place at a very early age. The growth of the population is not limited by any effective checks like birth-control, postponement of the age of marriage and temperance in married life. Hence nature applies its own checks. The heavy birth-rate is accompanied by a heavy death-rate. In Hongkong, for instance, out of every 100 children born to Chinese parents in the Colony, 85 are reported to die within a year.² When there are severe droughts or flood the people are reduced to such a state of affairs that they have to subsist on grass and leaves of trees and there are even records of need for food having proved superior to parental affection.³

Such an excessive population has adversely affected the whole social, political and economic life of the people. No Government, much less the present Chinese Government with its limited resources, can adequately take care of the health, education and training of these people though that is quite essential to increase their efficiency and productive capacity.

Remedy for overpopulation.

The problem of population in China, as in India, cannot be solved very easily. Migration does not seem to hold out any big prospects.⁴ It also does not seem that industrialization will help much to solve the problem. It has been estimated by a Chinese writer that even when industries are developed in the country there will not be enough work

1. Cannan : *Wailik*, pages 68-9.

2. Smith : *The British in China and the Far Eastern Trade*, p. 258.

3. Mallory : *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

4. See Stamp : *Op. cit.*, p. 470.

for the 400 million living souls of China.¹ It appears therefore that the problem can be solved only when the Chinese take effective positive steps to reduce their number. So long as they hold that their chief end in life is the rearing of numerous sons to worship before the ancestral tablet, all the measures thought out for checking population must be classed as palliatives rather than as cures for overpopulation.² Judging from the prevailing social conditions, however, the chances of this coming about are very remote. Education must be extended considerably and the people must be made to realize the urgent need of limiting their numbers. In the solution of this, as of many other problems of China as India, general education will help a great deal. At present something is being done in this direction; attempts are being made to spread the knowledge of methods of birth-control. Some of the more enlightened people have taken to limiting their number³ but this has hardly affected the general situation.

II. Lack of Development of Agriculture and Industry in China.

The other important cause for the poverty, starvation and low standard of living in China is the lack of development of agriculture and industry in the country. Without going into details here we may state that the present position of the Chinese agriculture, industry and commerce is far from satisfactory. Apart from certain factors which affect the growth of a particular industry or trade we may point out certain factors which have retarded the economic development of the country as a whole. These may be grouped under the following heads :-

- (a) Political and social chaos.
- (b) Lack of fiscal autonomy.
- (c) Inequitable nature of internal taxation.
- (d) Chaotic currency and measurement system.
- (e) Lack of transport facilities.
- (f) Lack of capital resources.
- (g) Lack of efficient and skilled labour.

We shall study each of these in some detail.

(a) Political and Social Chaos.

The most important factor that is responsible for the backward economic conditions in China is the political and social conditions obtaining there at present. China is of a very large size and hence it has always been very difficult to maintain law and order, and the authority of the Central Government has always been very feeble. This has especially been the case since the fall of the Manchu dynasty,

1. See Fang-Fuan : *Chinese Labour*, p. 115.

2. See Baker : *Explaining China*, p. 247.

3. See Marvin : *India and the West*, p. 101.

and the establishment of the Republic which dealt a terrible blow to the Chinese social machinery and completely dislocated it. Frankly speaking the Chinese were not and are not prepared for a successful working of a Republican form of government¹; and in fact the masses cannot be said to have been responsible for it.² It was the result brought about by the machinations of certain idealist thinkers nurtured on the Western political theory and disgusted at the impotence of the old Manchu dynasty in face of frequent foreign attacks. The Republican system of government like any other system can only be successful under certain conditions which are almost, if not entirely, absent in China. The Chinese masses were and are ignorant, poverty-stricken and have therefore hardly any political consciousness.³ The creation of the Republic was therefore a leap in the dark. As President Yuan said "they clipped the peoples' feet to fit them into new governmental shoes."⁴ Hence the establishment of the Republic has not led to peace and order, and we find that various war lords ravage the country, loot and harass the people especially in rural areas.⁵ The present day activities of the militarists in China and the consequent insecurity of life and property remind one of the activities of the Pindharis and Thugs in the early days of the last century. All this disorder is due to the weakness of the Central Government to maintain law and liberty, though economic factors—want and poverty—are also responsible for it to some extent.

The present disturbed conditions in China are not due merely to political revolution but there seems to be going on fundamental changes in the whole social life of the people. It would be difficult to find any aspect of the life of the Chinese people which is not affected by the new forces at work—forces which are mainly the result of China's relations with the foreigners.⁶ These relations are of various kinds—commercial, political and religious.⁷ The foreign powers have come to possess special privileges as against the nationals—extra-territoriality, treaty rights and spheres of influence and these have led to many abuses and social evils. China also suffers a great deal from nepotism and corruption of its officers and one of her urgent needs is a higher moral standard among her public men.⁸

Such unsettled political and social conditions cannot promote

1. Viracke : *Problems of Industrial Development of China*, p. 45.
2. Chapman : *The Chinese Revolution*, p. ix.
3. "Papers Respecting Labour Conditions in China"—H. M. Stationery Office, p. 58.
4. Legendre : *Modern Chinese Civilization*, p. 274.
5. Curtis : *The Capital Question of China*.
6. Vide MacNair : *China in Revolution*, p. 1.
7. See Morse : *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Vols. I, II and III.
8. Cf. Hodgkin : *China in the Family of Nations*, p. 263.

agricultural, industrial and commercial progress of any country. If China is to achieve her economic development and raise the standard of life of its people it must have a strong Government which will be able to enforce its edicts, restore order, security of life and property and respect for personal liberty. Then only can China be prosperous.¹ As will be seen in greater details later, the whole problem of industrialization and economic progress of China depends upon the problem of Government.

(b) *Lack of Fiscal Autonomy.*

Fiscal freedom is very essential for the economic development of any country on proper lines, because the fiscal policy that a country adopts largely determines the growth of its trade and industry. This point may be illustrated by reference to Japan and pre-war Germany on the one hand and India on the other. We should not of course exaggerate the importance of tariff in this respect because there are other important factors affecting the economic development of a country. Till recently China had not the freedom to determine its fiscal policy in the best interests of her trade and industry. Because of the various treaties signed with different powers, either as a result of defeat in wars or borrowing or diplomatic negotiations, China lost her fiscal independence. We need not here refer to the various treaties that were signed by China since 1842 and which put a limit on her fiscal powers. Besides the limited power of levying duties, the proper regulation of commerce in China was further complicated by the presence in all the important conventions between China and other States beginning with the British Supplementary Treaty of 1843, of the most favoured nation clause in its unilateral and absolute form. In some cases the most favoured nation clause went further than merely requiring China to treat all aliens on an equal footing; it forbade her to give special privileges even to her own subjects.² It is interesting to note that though China extended to foreign powers the most favoured nation treatment she was accorded the least favoured nation treatment by them.³

We need not discuss in detail how this lack of fiscal autonomy deprived the Chinese Government the power to restrict foreign imports and thereby encourage the establishment of new industries or stop the decay of old ones; it also affected her revenue.⁴ Recently, however, China has obtained tariff autonomy. Ever since the beginning of this century the Chinese had begun to demand the right to fix their own tariff

1. Cf. "Material Prosperity is a by-product of freedom and order and also their index"—Curtis: *Op. cit.*, p. 300.

2. Vida See: *Foreign Trade of China*, pages 363-5.

3. See Campbell: *Chinese Coolie Emigration*.

4. See Chin Chu: *The Tariff Problem of China*.

rates. It was at the tariff conference which met in October 1925 that it was agreed by the foreign powers concerned that China would be given full tariff autonomy on January 1, 1929. Since then China is using that right not only with a view to get as much money from the customs revenue as the trade can afford, but also to help the development of her industries.¹ Let us hope that this new power will be used wisely and will be able to bring about a rapid economic development and prosperity of the country.

(c) *Inequitable Nature of Internal Taxation.*

Internal taxation in China is inequitable and a great obstacle to the healthy growth of trade and industry. From the Taiping rebellion (1853-67) the internal taxes in China have increased to a considerable extent. As we have indicated before, the downfall of monarchy has led to political chaos and the emergence of military governors who levy numerous and irregular internal taxes.² These taxes are of various kinds—likin, consumption and production taxes : the chief of them is likin. It does not satisfy any of the canons of a sound taxation system.³ It is however interesting to note that the foreigners suffer less from these taxes than the Chinese as in virtue of treaty rights the foreign goods were able to move in the country till recently on payment of a small commutation tax of 2½ per cent. As a Chinese writer⁴ laments, all discriminations in China seem to be against the native merchants and merchandise calculated to drive both out of the market and likin is no exception to that. We therefore find the curious phenomenon that the cotton mills in Shanghai are able to obtain their raw materials from the U. S. A. or India at a smaller duty than cotton shipped sent from one province to another.⁵ Such advantages enjoyed by the foreigners have forced the Chinese to carry on their operations at the treaty ports under the name of some foreigner.⁶ This is hardly a satisfactory state of affairs. Moreover, the grant of such advantages to foreigners and their products is highly objectionable. The duty of a modern government is not to check by inland taxation the domestic industries of the country⁷ but to encourage them in every possible way.

Though the internal system of taxation is not satisfactory it does not seem that the Government of China will be able to abolish it in

1. See Clark: *Economic Backlog in China*, p. 118.

2. Cf. "Taxes whose incidence is directly upon trade are more numerous, more vexatious and a greater burden to-day than at any previous period."—Hornbeck: *China To-day : Political*, p. 468.

3. See for details Lieu: *China's Industries and Finance*.

4. Chin Chu: Op. cit. 113.

5. See: Op. cit., p. 595.

6. Remer: *The Foreign Trade of China*, p. 14.

7. For details see Bastable: *Public Finance*.

view of limited alternative sources of revenue and the financial needs of the Government.¹ What can be done and should be done is only to reform the *lukin* system and to remove its more objectionable features. This can be done by reducing the number of *lukin* barriers, by appointing honest officers² and reducing to a moderate and definite level the rate of taxation. Provision should also be made for payment of a lump sum at one collectorate and thus securing exemption at all subsequent ones. The taxes on foreign imports also need to be equalized with those on domestic goods. By some such means the impediments to the growth of Chinese trade and industry can be removed. It is gratifying to learn that the new Chinese Government has decided to move on some such lines.³

(d) *Chaotic Currency and Measurement System in China.*

Another impediment in the way of a rapid economic development of China is the chaotic condition in which its currency and measurement systems are. The main factor for this is of course the weakness of the Central Government. As the Kemmerer Commission has pointed out there is nothing like a currency system in China. It is true that there are coins minted by the Central and Provincial Governments and notes issued by a Central Bank which has been recently established but they do not circulate in all parts of the country.⁴ Different systems operate in different trading areas.⁵ In addition to various actual coins and notes there is the *tael* which is not an actual coin but a measure of weight equivalent to 58·3 grains.⁶ Each locality has its own *tael*, differing in size, fineness and value from that of another. Morse tells us that he has come across as many as 170 such different *taels*.⁷ Of these various *taels* the *Haikwan tael* is the most important. Till February 1, 1930, it was the *tael* used for customs valuation. It has however officially been abolished since that date and replaced by a new customs gold unit fixed at 60·1866 centigrams of pure gold equivalent to 0·40 U. S. dollar (gold) or 19·7265 pence (gold) or 0·8025 yen (gold). Besides the various coins and *taels* there are large and often indiscriminate issues of paper money. In China the note issue is the privilege of all banks which issue notes without sufficient care making the confusion worse confounded.

1. See Wagel: *Finance in China* p. 342.

2. See Shaw: *Democracy and Finance in China*.

3. For details of Government action in this connection see Tyan op. cit., p. 164 and *China Year Book*, 1931-32, p. 222.

4. U. S. Department of Commerce: *Currency Banking and Finance in China*, p. 127.

5. Furniss: *Foreign Exchange*, p. 50.

6. Spalding: *Eastern Exchange Currency and Finance*, p. 363.

7. See Morse: *Trade and Administration of China*, p. 169 et seq.

Though there are many coins and taels, the real standard of value in China from the point of view of foreign trade is none of these coins and taels but silver bullion. The unit of exchange between China and the other countries is the rate for telegraphic transfer on the country concerned. This rate of course fluctuates with the price of silver. In addition to these fluctuations of silver in terms of gold, there are the fluctuations of various sorts of circulating currency in terms of each other and in terms of silver. It is because of these wide fluctuations that China has been described as the paradise of money changers.¹

The weights and measurement system of China is also in an unsatisfactory state. The attempts of the Government to reform the system have been ineffective in this as in other respects, due to its feeble authority. Hence the standard of weights, measures and length, vary all over the country.² At present, there are generally speaking, two kinds of standards in use; namely, the old and the new.³ The old standard is based on the "weights and measures law" promulgated in 1914. The law governing the new standard was promulgated by the National Government on February 6, 1929 and it is intended to be the legal standard of weights and measures acceptable throughout China. So far, however, the law has had little effect.

Such chaotic currency and measurement systems retard the economic development of China. Modern economic life is founded on money. Our whole industrial order is based on production of goods for sale at a money profit, and for its success, a sound currency system is absolutely necessary.⁴ As a high Chinese official⁵ has said, currency and weights are essential from the point of view of trade and industry, the former fixing the value, and the latter the physical unit. Hence, their reform is necessary before China's economic development can be brought about. Such a reform, though well projected,⁶ cannot come about without a strong Government.

(e) Lack of Transport Facilities.

The present transport system of China is quite unsatisfactory. In some parts of the country goods can be transported across the rivers and canals. But many of the provinces have no such waterways. Hence the need of constructing roads and railways is very great in these provinces. But even where there are waterways there exist certain areas which cannot be reached by them, and there also roads

1. Cf. Cross: *Domestic and Foreign Exchange*, p. 440-1.

2. Shaw op. cit., p. 199.

3. China Year Book, 1931-32, p. 425.

4. Cf. Vlachis: op. cit., pages 93-95.

5. Vide Liou: op. cit., pages 32-33.

6. For details see U. S. Department of Commerce: "Currency, Banking and Finance in China."

and railways need to be constructed. Wherever and whatever roads exist in China at present they are hardly satisfactory even for the movement of carts much less for motor transport. The goods have therefore to be transported by human carriers and donkeys which means both loss of time and higher costs.

There are very few railway lines in China. The Chinese were not first averse to the construction of any railway lines¹, but till 1895 had practically no railways.² Since then a few lines have been constructed. But even now they are not sufficient to meet the needs of the country, the total mileage being hardly more than ten thousand miles. Again, whatever railways exist are rendered useless during the days of civil disturbance in the country—an event not quite rare in recent times. They are intercepted by military generals and rendered ineffective for ordinary transport.³

We need not emphasize the importance of a co-ordinated transport system in modern economic organization,⁴ and how the unsatisfactory state of affairs in this respect in China have retarded her economic development. This has been recognized by the Chinese leaders. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, for instance, has said that transportation is the key to industrial development of China.⁵ An extensive and cheap transport system will not only help China's trade and industry, but will also enable the Government to maintain better law and order. It will also mitigate the evil of overpopulation and famine conditions, by bringing about a better distribution of population and food supply. The Government of China, however, cannot develop such a transport system for want of adequate financial resources and due to its own weakness. The new Nationalist Government has recently outlined a good programme for the purpose. Gradually more roads suitable for motor transport are being constructed.⁶ There is also some improvement in the railway position. But these recent developments have hardly affected the general situation in the country as a whole.

1. See Nurse: *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Vol. III, Chapter IV.

2. Remer: op. cit., p. 11.

3. Cf: "A general in control of a railway is like a monkey with a watch; as a result of civil war, parts of the existing railways have been unusable for commercial purposes for long periods together. Rolling stock is falling into pieces, and owing to lack of engineering resources cannot be put in order"—R. H. Tawney: op. cit., p. 86.

4. Cf: "A regularly organized transport and good roads are the chief arteries of the economic life of a country, the blood that carries warmth and vital force to all its organs"—Karansheff: *Mongolia and Western China*, p. 77.

5. Sun Yat Sen: *The International Development of China*.

6. See for details U. S. Department of Commerce—Motor Roads in China, p. 81 and British Department of Overseas Trade—Report on China for 1929, p. 26.

(f) *Lack of Capital Resources.*

In addition to the factors already mentioned, the lack of adequate capital resources is another obstacle in the way of the economic development of China.¹ We need not dwell here upon the importance of vast capital resources for the success of modern industry, agriculture and trade under conditions of deferred production. China cannot provide the necessary capital, partly because the people are too poor to effect any savings,² and partly because there are not the necessary institutions in sufficient number for the accumulation and investment of capital. Again, whatever wealth the Chinese save is, as in India, invested in land or hoarded in the shape of silk and jewellery and is not available for the purpose of industrial development. Recently, however, we are told, that there is a movement to appeal to the patriotism of the Chinese investor and efforts are being made to induce him to invest his savings in industries.³ But the effect of this movement has been very slight so far.

It may be suggested that China should obtain the necessary capital from foreign countries, but this is not an easy matter. What China, like India, requires is not only foreign capital but foreign capital without foreign capitalists. If the borrowing of foreign capital is going to lead as in the past, to the domination of foreign capitalists in matters political and economic its advantages are doubtful. Further, some of the foreign loans contracted by China and matured long ago, are still unpaid, and even the interest on some of them is in arrears for a long time. Because of this, as well as the inability of the new Government to maintain peace and order, the credit of the Chinese Government is not very satisfactory. Unless, therefore, the Chinese Government is able to create confidence among the foreign creditors regarding its ability to pay the interest regularly, and to pay the amount in due time, it will be difficult for China to obtain sufficient amount of foreign capital—in fact not even domestic capital—on suitable terms, and till then, China's economic development will not come about.

1. Cf. "The inertness of the Chinese capitalists; the absence of technical skill, the distrust of foreigners and the dread of foreign capital have condemned the whole economic life of China to a long arrest."—Karamishoff : op. cit., p. 132.

2. Cf. The problem of industrializing densely populated and deeply impoverished countries such as India or China is not easy for it is very difficult for these thickly settled peasant countries to accumulate capital and to apply it to industrial development out of their own scanty resources"—Cola : *The Intelligent Man's Guide Through World Cities*, p. 47.

3. Vide British Committee on Industry and Trade—Survey of Overseas Markets, p. 392.

(g) *Lack of Efficient and Skilled Labour.*

At present the efficiency of Chinese labour is very low,¹ and the factors responsible for this are the same as in our country—poverty, low standard of living, low vitality and lack of education and training. Efficiency of labour also depends on the capital equipment with which it is working, and as the latter is not satisfactory, the labour efficiency also suffers.

Apart from the inefficient labour there is also a dearth of skilled and trained persons to direct the working of large scale industries as supervisors, organisers and mechanics. This is due to want of theoretical and practical training, for which there are no facilities in China, though recently attempts are being made to provide the same.² Even though some of the Chinese have now acquired a certain amount of technical training it has not much affected the economic development of the country as they are averse to manual labour. On account of their social philosophy and traditions and undue worship of learning the educated Chinese are afraid of losing their "face" if they take to any work of a practical nature involving manual labour. Their outlook needs to be changed in this respect in the interests of China's progress.³ Hence, there is not a sufficient number of technical and industrial leaders in China. We need not emphasize how this retards the economic development of the country. Apart from other factors mentioned before, we must note that the general low standard of living is responsible for this state of affairs. As Professor Tawney has well put it, "modern industry requires not merely modern machinery, but the modern engineer, modern factory operative and modern miner. They cannot certainly be recruited from a population pitched into industry at the age of eight or nine, worked eleven to fourteen hours a day except when it is unemployed, decimated by preventable diseases, unable to read or write, paid a wage insufficient to maintain it in physical health, and sunk in conditions of mental apathy".⁴ All this needs to be changed if labour efficiency is to be increased, and a rapid economic development is to be brought about.

1. See Pearce: *The Cotton Industry of Japan and China*, p. 171-73.

2. Vide Vincke: *Problems of Industrial Development of China*, p. 49.

3. Cf. "If China is to have successful industry either her educated sons must be able to serve apprenticeships in every rank without loss of respect, or else opportunity to achieve industrial leadership must be extended to the unschooled. Either of these alternatives means that the sanctity which like a cloak has enveloped the possession of a degree must be swept. The worship of learning must cease."—Baker: *Exploiting China*, p. 145.

4. Tawney: Op. cit., 160.

Conclusion.

We have now briefly studied some of the principal factors responsible for China's poverty. The task of economic development of China which alone will bring economic prosperity in place of present poverty is very difficult. As we have already seen, at every point the need of a strong and efficient Government to maintain law, liberty and order is quite apparent. Unless the present or any future Government of China is able to control and thereby secure the co-operation of all the provinces, it cannot hope to achieve any substantial progress in the matter of economic progress, in fact any kind of progress. We must also remember that what is necessary for China is not only a strong Government, but a Government inspired by a desire to develop the resources of China and put that desire into action. The prospects of this do not seem to be bright, and hence, we cannot look forward to any large improvement in the economic conditions of China in the near future.

D. N. MALUSTE



Reviews

Marketing of Fruit in Poona District by D. R. Gadgil and V. R. Gadgil.

In these days when so much attention is being paid to the problem of rural uplift, it is natural that economists should devote special attention to Economic surveys. Principal Gadgil with his collaborator Mr. V. R. Gadgil has, in the book before us, surveyed the problem of the marketing of fruit in Poona. The survey was commenced in July 1931 and in spite of many difficulties, e. g., the absence of adequate statistics the suspicion of the commission agents and the apathy of the ignorant growers, our authors have been able to throw considerable light on the problem they enthusiastically took up. The most useful part of their work has been the many facts which they have collected together and also the many recommendations which they have made with reference to the problems of production as well as of the marketing of fruit in the district of Poona. This district stands second in our Presidency so far as acreage under fruit cultivation is concerned. From the village and the taluka records the authors have compiled statistics regarding this acreage and these statistics clearly show that there has been expansion in the cultivation of oranges, bananas and figs due to the growth of the means of communication and also the increasing irrigation facilities. The expansion of the acreage under figs in the Purandar Taluka is mainly due to the construction of the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway.

Though there has been some expansion in the cultivation of some kinds of fruit, it cannot be said that the problem of production has been completely solved. In fact as the authors point out this problem will certainly have first to be tackled. But the problem of marketing is not less important than the problem of production. The increased quantity and the improved quality of any fruit must get a fairly good price. Otherwise the producer can be no better off from the financial point of view. To-day a multiplicity of unnecessary middlemen interposed between the producer and the consumer, robs the producer of a large amount of his profit without any benefit to the consumer. Hence the importance of marketing organization. Our authors have described in detail the functions of the various intermediaries that lie between the producer and the consumer but owing to want of adequate statistics regarding wholesale as well as retail prices they have not been able to show actually the vast difference between the price that the grower gets and the price which the

consumer in the city market has to pay for the same kind of article. The writer of this review—himself the owner of a small garden of plantains at Walhe in the Purandhar Taluka has often sold plantains at the rate of Rs. 4 per thousand as a producer and has purchased the same in the city at the rate of three annas per dozen! As a producer he realizes about six annas for his hundred and for the same price in the city the consumer gets a couple of dozens. It can be easily realized how a large part of the profit is intercepted by an army of intermediate middlemen between the producer and the consumer, quite out of proportion to the services rendered by these middlemen. If the aim of co-operation in the economic sense is the elimination of the middleman and the distribution of his profits between the producers and the consumers, here is a very important field for the co-operator to step in. Co-operative sale has yet made no progress in the district.

The authors have alluded to the four ways of direct sale to consumers by producers. They are (1) sale from shops on the producer's own premises, (2) road-side sale, (3) sale through the post, and (4) sale by hawking. Of these four the road-side retail sale is of some importance in the district. The railway stations and the motor-stands, wherever these exist, are utilized by the fruit-growers for the disposal of at least a part of their produce. But the difficulties connected with the sale on the railway stations are not few. The high licence fees that have to be paid to the railway authorities devour most of the profits as the right to carry on sales is auctioned by the Railway authorities and the highest bidder is always preferred. The sale on the motor stands is assuming a considerable importance owing to the growth of the bus-traffic. On the motor stands no fees are hitherto charged by the Local Boards and the producers do take advantage of these stands if their villages and their fields are conveniently situated on the busways. But such facilities do not exist for all the producers and hence many of them have to fall back on the middleman.

With regard to the distant markets that could be reached through the agency of the railways, the authors have pointed out some of the defects in the working of these agencies. They at the outset admit that the construction of the railways has undoubtedly stimulated trade in fruit and perishable articles with distant cities like Bombay or Sholapur or Belgaum. But they also point out that there are some grave defects, which are certainly remediable, in the working arrangements of these railways. In the first place the diversity of gauges that exists even in the same district necessitates transhipment and is, therefore, responsible for much avoidable delay and damage to fruits. Secondly, the inadequacy of ventilated fruit vans is also likely to cause some damage to perishable articles. Thirdly, they allude to the absence of the refrigerating facilities which would do much to bring the distant markets within the

ambit of the fruit-grower. Lastly, they criticise the high parcel rates that are generally charged by the railways and quote the authority of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India to support their contention. It would have been perhaps much more useful if they had given some comparative figures about the parcel rates on perishable articles like fruit in some of the western countries.

While we agree with most of the conclusions to which the authors have arrived and approve of most of their recommendations for the improvement of the production and the marketing of fruit in our district, we are compelled to differ from our authors in one important respect. On pages 20-21 they try to show the inaccuracy of some of the observations made by the Royal Agricultural Commission. Our authors quote two remarks made by the Commission which are as follows: "In other areas where various commercial fruits would undoubtedly do well, such as the Nilgiri and the Annamalli Hills in Madras, and parts of the Deccan little or no cultivation of fruit for the market is attempted." The second remark of the Royal Commission quoted by our authors is as follows. "While there can be no question that there is much scope for the small cultivator who endeavours to supplement his income by growing cheap and hardy fruit for local sale, there are serious obstacles to be overcome by the grower who proposes to specialize in fruit growing for the larger and more fastidious urban markets." After quoting these two remarks of the Royal Commission, our authors observe 'It is obvious that in Poona, the facts of the actual situation are entirely at variance with the remarks quoted above.' We are afraid our authors have misunderstood the gist or the spirit of the remarks they have quoted from the Report. The main contention of the Royal Commission is that in spite of the vast potentialities of fruit production due to the wide range of climate and soil in our country, there is as yet no widespread cultivation of fruit on scientific lines. The most important words in the paragraph of the Report from which our authors have taken the first remark are "no widespread cultivation of fruit on scientific lines." So when the authors of the Report say that "in parts of the Deccan little or no cultivation of fruit for the market is attempted" all that the Royal Commissioners want to emphasize is that little is attempted on scientific lines. Our authors attach undue importance to the words 'for the market'. The second remark of the Royal Commissioners quoted above seems to us to be quite convincing. All that the Commissioners want to convey by that remark is that owing to various difficulties such as lack of horticultural tradition amongst ordinary cultivators, lack of capital, length of time required to bring the crop to bearing, lack of expert advice, the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory varieties of proved suitability to local conditions and the absence of adequate transport facilities, the spread of fruit culture and

market gardening is considerably hindered. It is difficult to disagree with this very reasonable conclusion drawn by the Royal Commission. In fact our authors have themselves alluded to some of these difficulties that come in the way of fruit culture on scientific lines. When, therefore, our authors say that in the Poona district the facts of the actual situation are entirely at variance with the remarks of the Royal Commission an impartial reader cannot agree with them. Truth lies on the side of the Commission.

It is pleasing, however, to note that our authors have devoted their attention to almost every aspect of the problem of marketing. Picking, packing, grading, types of baskets used, pre-harvest contractors, the Hundekaries, the topping devices, secret auctions, grower's organizations, bulking societies, market intelligence—all have been dealt with each at its proper place. We are, however, compelled to observe that this survey would have served its purpose much better if it had also been written in the vernacular of the district.

16th August 1934.

S. G. DESHPANDE.

Les premières relations entre les Français et les Princes indigènes dans l'Inde au XVII siècle (1666-1706), by ADRIAN DUARTE. (Paris : Jouve et Cie).

The history of the French in India is associated, for most of us, with the names of Dupleix, Lally and a few others, and with the Anglo-French rivalry and conflict in this Peninsula during the 18th century. But French connection with this country began much earlier. It has hitherto been more or less a neglected aspect of Indian history. A wealth of documents awaits tapping, and research is bound to yield very important and illuminating evidence. Mr. Duarte's thesis is a chapter of that forgotten history, and we ought to be thankful for it.

Mr. Duarte has limited himself in this book to an account of the first relations between the Indian Princes and the French during a period of forty years, 1666-1706. It is the beginning of the story. After giving a rapid survey of India during the 17th century by way of introduction and also to serve as a background for the events described, Mr. Duarte deals with his history in five more or less distinct periods, each period marking a stage in political relationship.

The first period, 1666-1672, is occupied in obtaining a foot-hold in India for the establishment of Factories by a policy of conciliation combined with firmness. The French had not only to reckon with the

Princes and their Governors and underlings, but also with the rival Dutch, Portuguese and English interests, ever on the look-out to ruin the newcomers by every available means. Therefore the second period, 1672-1674, is characterized by a policy of armament and force. But the French in India at this time were by no means strong enough or rich enough to succeed by force alone. Besides, trading on imperial or princely territory was not very paying owing to heavy exactions of one kind or another. Therefore, during the third period, from 1675 to 1677, attempts were made to acquire territorial posts by a policy of "understanding" with the native Princes. The French also began to interest themselves directly in native politics during this period, under the guidance and initiative of Baron. But times were difficult, and great tact was needed. The policy of Martin, covering the period 1677 to 1685, was the policy of patience and accommodation. This policy of prudence and patience bore fruit in the extension of French Factories and increase of French commerce with India during the fifth period, 1686-1698. The period 1698-1706 saw the gradual decline of the original Compagnie Royale Française, and the termination of one stage of French career in India.

Mr. Duarts's account is very interesting, and given in a direct, straightforward manner. One or two defects may be noted. The author has erred on the side of over-simplification. And vastly interesting though the narrative be, it is very sketchy. Greater detail, a more elaborate marshalling of the various forces at work, a constant interweaving of European events (which proved of such direct and immediate importance to Indian history) into the texture of the Indian scene, would have greatly enhanced the historical value of Mr. Duarts's book. But the work remains interesting, and we hope the author will follow up this promising beginning with a further instalment of the history of Franco-Indian relations.

P. R. B.

The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism, by BENITO MUSSOLINI. Authorized translation by Jane Soames. ("Day to Day Pamphlets" No. 18. London: The Hogarth Press. 1 s.)

This is a reprint of an article contributed in 1932 by the originator and leader of Fascism to the fourteenth volume of *Encyclopédia Italiana*. We are informed in the Foreword that "it is the only statement by Mussolini of the philosophic basis of Fascism."

Out of regard for the importance that the Fascist movement is gaining in Europe, for the states and personality of the author, and the

title of the article, one would naturally come to a study of this pamphlet in high hopes of finding out the inner logic of this movement, of being told something definite about a phenomenon which, according to the author, now partakes of "the universality of all these doctrines which, in realising themselves, have represented a stage in the history of the human spirit." After such an expectation it is a bit of a disappointment to be told three or four times in the course of twenty small pages that there is no definite doctrine and no properly thought out philosophy underlying Fascism! The nearest we get to definiteness is summed up thus: "Fascism is not theoretical. It is a doctrine of action." We long to be told what that "doctrine of action" consists in or consists of; and we are merely informed again and again that it is "quite different" from all other social and political doctrines either of the past or the present day. This is the only concrete information we get from Signor Mussolini about the "differentness" and the "revolutionariness" of Fascist philosophy. We are eager to know what Fascism is *positively*. The answer, whatever it be for the moment, is always in terms of a negative. Fascism is not this, Fascism denies that, Fascism opposes the other. It is something entirely different and new. But what?

Let us illustrate this. Fascism, says Mussolini, has nothing but contempt and abhorrence for Liberalism, with its humanitarianism, its pacific ideal and its anxiety for the economic well-being of the masses. "Fascism denies the validity of the equation, well-being-happiness, which would reduce men to the level of animals, caring for one thing, only—to be fat and well-fed—and would thus degrade humanity to a purely physical existence." This is nothing new, and besides was expressed much more elegantly by Jesus about 2000 years ago.

Again, "above all, Fascism, the more it considers and observes the future and the development of humanity quite apart from political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace." This affirmation may certainly be accounted a "new doctrine" if we take it to mean that its author has no hope about the human species, does not believe in the possibility of progress (i.e. the will and the effort to advance from a polity of conflict to a polity of co-operation), and has definitely abandoned the idea of finding that "moral substitute for war" which should keep human efforts towards perfection at the highest tension (as during a war) without the stimulus of mutual butchery.

The second pet aversion of Fascism is Socialism. That is natural, since Fascism was a revolt led by the tempestuous Mussolini against the ineptitude and bungling futility of the undisciplined and quarrelsome Italian Socialists. The Duce makes short work of socialism by identifying it with the Italian Socialist Party! He denounces

the economic conception of history as a theory according to which "men are no more than puppets, carried to and fro by the waves of chance, while the real directing forces are quite out of their control." Unfortunately, he forgets all about it when enunciating, in the words of Renan, the Fascist *credo* a few paragraphs later: "The principle that society exists solely through the well-being and the personal liberty of all the individuals of which it is composed does not appear to be conformable to the plans of nature, in whose workings the race alone seems to be taken into consideration, and the individual sacrificed to it." And again: "In the Fascist State the individual is deprived of all useless and possibly harmful freedom, but retains what is essential; *the deciding power in this question cannot be the individual, but the State alone.*"

After Liberalism, Pacifism, and Socialism, comes Democracy. "Fascism combats the whole complex system of democratic ideology, and repudiates it, whether in its theoretical premises or in its practical application." Another Fascist "discovery" which is certainly not new! And as a fit pendant to that, the Duce adds with characteristic effrontery and bombast: "A party which entirely governs a nation [as the Fascist Party is doing in Italy] is a fact entirely new to history, there are no possible references or parallels." No one in Italy dare contradict this, and those outside Italy don't count!

Let us now come to the core of Fascism, and see if that is new. "The foundation of Fascism is the conception of the State, its character, its duty, and its aim. *Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, only to be conceived of in their relation to the State.*" In other words, Hobbes' *Leviathan*. Hegel resuscitated. Mussolini claims that the Fascist State is unique, original, and revolutionary in that "it anticipates the solution of the universal political problems which elsewhere have to be settled in the political field by the rivalry of parties, the excessive power of the Parliamentary regime, and the irresponsibility of political assemblies." But surely the Bolshevik State has been practising this since 1917! And no comments are necessary as to the uniqueness and originality of the following: "The Fascist State meets the problems of the economic field by a system of syndicalism . . . , and in the moral field enforces order, discipline and obedience to that which is the determined moral code of the country."

That is the Fascist structure. What of the spirit animating it? Whence does it draw its inspiration and stimulus? "The Fascist State is an embodied will to power and government: the Roman tradition is here an ideal of force in action For Fascism, the growth of Empire, that is to say the expansion of the nation, is an essential manifestation of vitality, and its opposite a sign of decadence. Peoples which

are rising, or rising again after a period of decadence, are always imperialist ; any renunciation is a sign of decay and of death." And the Duce displays unsuspected depths of grim humour in writing : "Empire demands discipline, the co-ordination of all forces, and a deeply-felt sense of duty and sacrifice : this fact explains many aspects of the practical working of the regime" . . . of which the world is only too well aware, despite the censorship !

Fascism was born in the debris of social and political bankruptcy in Italy. Signor Mussolini has been a good organiser, considering the difficulties which beset him, and he has performed his task according to his lights. If he believes in brute force as a universal solvent, he is welcome to his belief, and no one may quarrel with him over that. But he should have let well alone and not have attempted to claim originality for a "doctrine" and a "philosophy" that are as old as Egypt, and just as outworn.

This twenty-page pamphlet is well worth studying, and the brilliant Hogarth Press is to be congratulated on making it available in English.

P. R. B.

Badlapur—(My village) by N. G. Chapekar, (Aryasanskriti Mudrana-laya, Poona, 2). Poona, 1933.

There should be little difficulty even for a casual reader in distinguishing this piece of work as unique in every way among the many publications which claim to pass off as village surveys. The material bearing on the economic condition of the people is by itself far more detailed and carries the impress of veracity born out of intimate contact in a far more convincing way than is to be met with anywhere else. But overshadowing in its bulk and absorbing interest the economic aspect of the inquiry is the elaborate sociological study carried by the author into every caste, community, rank and condition of the populace. Perhaps, every detail cited by the author regarding the beliefs, manners and practices of the different strata of society may not be strictly accurate. But it would be difficult to point out any other extant treatise which in the aggregate gives a truer, more vivid, more detailed, more intimate picture of the mental, spiritual and social life of the communities inhabiting the coast-line of the Bombay Deccan. While the dissection is elaborate and thorough, the effect produced on the mind of the reader is that of watching a well-knit organic whole instinct with life and activity. There is indeed material enough in these chapters which may

well be suggestive of many new lines of inquiry along sociological, philological or historical lines. The author's concluding chapters constitute a brilliant and scholarly effort at analysing and correlating the vast and varied material collected in the volume. It is to be much regretted that in many places the author has marred the scientific character of his treatment by importing in a very irrelevant and irrational manner his personal and caste prejudices. His remarks on the remarriage of widows (see p. 444), for example, are naively impertinent, and unscientific, and could well have been held back without much loss to his Non-Brahmin co-religionists. It may be noted in conclusion that the excellence of the book is much enhanced by the gracefully easy and hauntingly homely flows of Marathi in which it is written.

S. K. MURANJAN.

Bombay Looks Ahead. Edited By CLIFFORD MANSHARDT, pp. vi + 107. Taraporewala, Bombay. Rs. 4.

The chapters in this volume are in substance the lectures delivered by eight learned and prominent citizens of Bombay at the Nagpada Neighbourhood House during the cold weather season of 1934. The volume is a sequel to 'Bombay To-day and To-morrow,' which was published some time ago and contained the substance of a similar series of lectures delivered during 1929-30. The address of Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay, delivered as President at the opening lecture provides the introduction to this volume, and he emphasises in it the need of mobilising the best brains among the citizens of Bombay to ensure the development of the city on the right lines, as the unfortunate political struggles of the last few years have caused a neglect of the study of social and economic questions that face the city, at the very time when it is faced with specially severe difficulties owing to the diversion of its trade and the depression in its mill industry. Conscious efforts to rouse effective interest of all thinking citizens in the social and economic problems of the city are more necessary in Bombay than elsewhere, because a large proportion of its population does not regard it as its permanent home. Consequently, civic patriotism and pride remain dormant in a period of difficulty, unless an active effort is made to rouse them.

In the opening chapter, Mr. R. P. Masani, sometime Municipal Commissioner, Bombay Municipality, discusses the social functions of Municipal Government, and appeals to the Bombay Municipality and

citizens to devise ways and means to meet five very pressing needs of the city, viz. housing, pure food, poor relief, child protection and education. In the second chapter, Prof. C. N. Vakil of the School of Economics, Bombay University, discusses the importance of social planning, and emphasises the importance of carrying out an economic survey of Bombay city in order to understand the true nature and the intensity of the social and economic problems, such as diversion of trade, depression of industry, unemployment, growth of gambling, and indiscriminate or unorganised charity, that face the city, before proper remedies can be devised. In the next chapter, Mr. Claude Batley of the firm of Gregson, Batley and King, Architects, examines the importance of city planning by civic authorities, and makes some useful suggestions for making Bombay more beautiful, brighter and healthier. The fourth chapter deals with our educational system, and in it Professor James Kellock of the Wilson College, Bombay, after explaining the working of the system in all its stages—primary, secondary and University, points out its defects, such as wide prevalence of illiteracy, wastage, paucity of trained teachers, neglect of physical training, domination of high school education by the matriculation examination, lowering of the standard of this examination, congestion in colleges, and neglect of the true aims of University education in the effort to provide qualifications for securing clerical employment, and finally suggest some remedies.

In the fifth chapter Prof. R. D. Choksi, also of the Wilson College, Bombay, explains how the activities for the provision of adult education in Bombay city are sporadic, intermittent and dependent on Voluntary effort, and, therefore, do not show any steady advance, and then offers some suggestions for placing the activities on a proper footing. In the following chapter, Miss. M. K. Davis of the Bombay Children's Aid Society examines the problem presented by destitute and neglected children and juvenile offenders, and points out that while it is more serious in Bombay city than in Western cities, the present means for its solution are less adequate in this city than in the West. For solving it she suggests education of public opinion, passage of all-India children, Borstal, and Probation Acts, establishment of more institutions especially a school for mentally defective children of the poorer classes and a reformatory school and Borstal institution for unruly girls, supply of paid whole-time supervisors, and adequate facilities for their training. In the seventh chapter, Mr. A. D. Shroff of Batlivala and Karani, sharebrokers, Bombay, examines the depression in Bombay's industries, especially the textile industry, and points out that the industrial future of the city will depend upon higher efficiency of management, better attention of the manufacturers to the changing requirements of the consumers and to the supply of cheaper goods of the right quality, better understanding between labour and management, lower municipal and

Government taxation, better and cheaper housing for workers, lowering of the cost of living, supply of cheaper electric energy, and revision of the curricula of the Bombay University so as to give them a bias in favour of commerce and industry. Finally, Mr. S. C. Joshi, Advocate, Bombay High Court, and an enlightened labour leader discusses the nature and causes of industrial unemployment in Bombay city, and for relieving it suggests a programme of public works, starting of certain new industries, reduction of hours of work, provision of effective machinery for a speedy settlement of industrial disputes, employment bureaus, unemployment insurance and settling the unemployed on the land.

In spite of a certain amount of overlapping, and thinness of one or two lectures, these lectures on the whole are an admirable exposition of the social and economic problems that confront Bombay city, at present, and received much favourable notice in the press when they were delivered. This volume deserves the attention of all those who are interested in the future of India's cities, as many of the criticisms and suggestions contained in it will prove useful to the citizens and civic authorities of other Indian cities also. But, although the volume is well printed and attractively got up, considering its size, its price, viz., Rs. 4, seems too high.

S. G. PANANDIKAR,

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PART III

ŚIRASĀNGI INSCRIPTION OF GRĀMEŚVARA TEMPLE.

1. Śirasāngi is a village situated about twelve miles to the north of Savadatti in Belgaum Collectorate. The ruins of the old place are to be noticed at a distance of about half a mile at the foot of the hills on the north. Three old temples—one of Mahā-Kāli, another of Habbēvara, and a third of Bhairava—are in the same compound, and are in a good state of preservation. There is one long inscription in the mukha-mantapa of the Bhairava temple. This is being worked on by me now. The Siddheśvara temple is to the west of the Mahā-Kāli temple a few yards to the west, on the Bhīmarathi-well road. This is completely in ruins, and the present inscription is placed in it against a delapidated wall. This may be the Grāmeśvara temple of the inscription. Another Śiva temple has a Raṭṭa inscription. But it has been spoiled by its being used as a mortar for the purpose of grinding dal on it by ignorant people in the fair days, usually in Caitra (April), when large number of people gather to worship Mahā-kāli. The last temple is that of Māruti.

2. The inscription is incised on a stone tablet 43" × 24". At the beginning of lines 36-40 a piece of it is gone damaging the text to some extent. At the top of the tablet are carved in relief the usual Linga, the worshipper, the cow and the calf, the sword, the sun and the moon. The inscription is in Kannada characters and Kannada language and has 27 verses. Notwithstanding the exposure to the sun and the weather to which it is subjected long since, it is in a good state of preservation. I noticed it two years back when I had an opportunity to go there and obtained a print of it in ink. I am publishing it now for the first time.

3. Its date is Monday, Pusya śuddha daśami, Vibhava saṁvat-sara the eleventh year of Cālukya Jagadekamalla's reign. When computed this gives the date as Friday, the 2nd January 1030 A.D., Saka 951. But Principal R. N. Apté opines that it should be Pancami which correctly gives Saṁkramana and Vyatipāta and also Monday the 29th Dec. 1029 as is mentioned in the inscription. The scribe may either have committed a mistake in incising or the tablet may have been worn out at the particular place.

4. The inscription is important historically as it gives 1029 A.D. as the eleventh year of Jagadekamalladeva (Jayasinha II) of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa. This is a further evidence to the correct date of accession of Jayasinha II. It also gives all his titles, viz.: samasta-bhuvan-śāraya, pṛthvi-vallabha, mahā-rāja-dhirāja-paramāvara, parama-bhaṭṭāraka, śrimat-pratāpa-cakra-varti, etc.

5. It also mentions that his great minister and general Keśimayya was ruling over the eraḍāru-nūru country in which Śirasangi was located. The term eraḍāru-nūru has been the subject of a controversy in which Mr. Rajapurohit of Dharwar and Mr. N. B. Sastri of Kopbal have taken part. Their articles have been published in *Karnātaka-Sāhitya-parisat-patricka*, Vol. XIV issue II, pp. 129, 136, Vol. XV, issue IV, P. 281, and Vol. XVII, issue II pp. 147, 151. This term, appearing as it does in Ranna's Gadā-yuddha

Kannadām-eraḍāru-nūra

Kannadām = ā-tirula Kannadām. I-42,

caught the attention of the scholars when Mahāmahopādhyāya Rao Bahaddur R. Narasimhāchār explained it as the country of Belvola 300 and Puligere 300 on the strength of epigraphical evidences

Belvola mūnūrumām Puligere mūnūrumām eraḍāru-nūru-mām. Epi. Ind. XV. 339

Kuntala dharā-talarā, tad-visayakk = eraḍārunūru-lalāmām. Ibid. XIII, 326, Ibid IV. 207.

He further points out that the term appears as "dvi-triśataṁ in Nilagunda inscription of 982 A.D. This explanation has given rise to the controversy referred to above. The present inscription may help to solve the problem.

6. This inscription is important from the language point of view, inasmuch as it gives clue to the nature of the colloquial language then existing, which was a bit different from the classical one found in the earlier Kannada works. The following illustrations will be of great interest and importance to the language students.



being educated to some extent. Even then it seems that he could not escape the influence of the colloquial language.

7. The following are the spelling mistakes noticed;

1. Negardda for Negalda 1.2; Srōtriyaroju for Śrotriyarōju, 2; Dēsa for Deśa, 8; Saṁbhave, for Saṁbhavé, 1; Sarapāgata for Śarapāgata, 11; Pusya for Puṣya, 18; Purusārtha for Puruṣārtha, 34; Rudrasakti for Rudrāsakti, 49; Sāsana for Śāsana, 56 Sisya for Śisya, 50;

2. "Ri" is generally written for "r;"

Abhivriddhī, 5; Griha, 9; Risiariangi, 10; and Gō-brinda, 58.

3. "Ba" is written for "va;"

Brati, 50; Gō-brinda.

4. Suputraśkala is written for Suputrarkala; Jimnōddhāra for Jirṇōddhāra; and Dharāvalyea for Dharā-valaya.

5. The word "Gauda" assumes different forms:

Candī-gaudana, 20; Gaumīyāgalolage, 22; Barma-gavurīndām, 22; Aruvarggāvūndāgalolage, 39; Caudi-gāvurīndī, 42; Padmagauṇḍām, 43; and Rājī-gāvurīndā, 52.

6. The word "Bogayve" 1.35. is written as "Bogayve."

The word "Bratipar" 1.51 is written as "Bratirppa".

The word "Tettum" is written as "Terittum".

7. Metrical mistakes are to be observed in the following last words of verses;

Jagaj-janake, 1.30 ought to be Jagaj-janāḥ,

Bhāgadolu, 1.35 ought to be Bhāgadol,

Raksisuvāru, 1.51 ought to be Raksisuvār,

Ilā-ta]āgradolū, 1.41 ought to be Ilā-ta]āgradol, and

Nigōdainga]ā, 1.58 ought to be Nigōdāṅga]o].

8. The following words have been translated by me as the meaning would suit the text:

Hāga, 1.38 Share; Viśamkāpi, 1.32 Property;

Bala, 1.28, 38 Land;

Gangeya bāgīm, 1.32. Share of Gamga;

Kambi vadjamāgi 1.45 Bamboo growth;

and Ere, 1.46 47 Black soil.

9. The following are the terms of Land-measure:

Haraja-kamma, 1.20; Haraja-mattara, 1.33; Kariya-key-mattara 1.54; Kariya-keyim-mattara, 1.38; and Haraja-key, 1.47

TRANSLITERATION OF THE TEXT.

1. Namas-tūringa-s: irā-churnibhi-Cañdra-cāmara-cārave //trai-lokyā-nagar-ārāmbha-mūla-stambhāya Saṁbhave //I// Negardda mahā.

2. bratigalojaṁ / negaradda-mahā-Pāsupatarojaṁ sotriyaroju
negaraddud=agapitam = enalke/negarddapeñi Kā-
3. Jñāmukhañi sudarmma = pramukhañi //2// Svasti/ samasta-
bhuvan-āś'rayañ S' rī-Prithvi-vallabhañ mahā-rajādhī-
4. rāja-parames'varañ parama-bhaṭṭārakañ Satyāś'raya-
kuja-tīlakāñ Cāluky = ābharaṇañ S'rīmat-pratāpa-ca-
5. kravartti-Jagadekamalla-devara vijya-rājyam = uttarottar-
= ābhivriddhi-pravardddhamānam = ā Candr-Ārka-
6. tārañ barāñ saluttam=ire // Tat-pāda-pādm-Āpajivi-
samasta-prasasti-sahitañ s'rīman-mahā-pradhānañ sen = ādhipati=dañḍa-nāyakañ Kesimayyā-
7. gañ = erañ-apunūrumañi dutta-nigraha-śiṣṭa-pratipāñjanañ
geydi = āluttam = ire // Eeñey = ēñba satiya kūntala kañpad=ant=esedu tō-
8. rppa Kuntala-desa-/ kkajavañta cinnā-pūv=ene // bejagi-
dud=ol=volam=enippa Bejvala des'añ // 3// Suttida bettadīñ-
eseva nandanadīñ pala-
9. mañi tañkadiñ duttamam=appa deva-griha-saṅkuñadiñ-
vara-divya-tīrthadiñ / vritta-payodhīr - āṅganeyariñ sukañi-vara-
tarinā
10. dirinde lō-/ kottaram-āyti Bejvaladoje (1) rīśi'sringipurañ
manoharañ //4// Mattam=aliiy=īluvara mahimey=ent=enda-de//
Para=hitar=endu
11. vidar = endu gun-ārjjitar = endu kañpariṣṭatar = endu
satyaparar = endu day-ānvitar = endu sat-kav-īs' vara-jana-sevyar =
endu sarap = āgata-rakṣapa—
12. dakṣar = endu bi-ttaripudu kūrmameyinde Pirisiñgiya
gauḍugaļañ jagaj-janañ //5// Gađiyanka-mallan=etippar-ttodar
ddara Javan = enipa
13. ...s'rita.....çidañjañ kujuva-rtthi-gañdar=ene pesar
vvajedar = ppriisingiy=āruvar=olpañ meyevar //6// Int=enisid=
āruvar-ggāmañjugaļoļage
14.mmage padir=mmañjiy=enisi//Huliyama-gauḍařingañ
nir-mmañley=enipa Basati-gaudigañ putti dharā-valeyañ pogale
-suputraş = kuja-
15. dipakan=enisi Kāvagauḍañ neğarddu //7// Torehara-
kujake tilakañ bāra / siñil=idir=ānta vairigañ kūrppa-jana//
kkeragala-bhāñdjiy=enippañi karema-
16. rey=lilad=ol-gañda kāvara vīñdañ //8// Bhuvanañ
bappipa Kāvagauḍa-vīñhuvinñdañ Kājīgāvumñgi=utsavadiñ pu-
ṭidar=oppe Bannmañanum-ant-ā-Ka-
17. ppañjañ Bācāpañ Ravi-tējañ Padma-viveki-Buguđañ
tāñ = int = enal=parñca-Pāñčavar=emb = ant=avargge vijayañ
bhadrāñ s'ubhañ mangalañ //9// Svasti Sri-

18. mac-Cājukya-cakri-Jagadekamalla-varṣada II Vibha (v) saṁvatsarada Pusya sudda das'ami Sūnavaśra saṁkramapa vyatipātaṁ kliṣṭi bañda-

19. Pupya-dinadolū puṇya-tīrtham Grāmeś'vara-deva-r̥-arṅgabhogakkam nivēdyakkam jīrṇa-śddhārakkam - end=aliy=ścāryya-Rudras' akti-dēvara kālaṁ karcci Kāvagaunḍam

20. tanna hāgada bañadolage biṭṭa mattar=eraḍu kammav=innūḍum = ant=avara simey=āvud=endaḍe Caṇḍigauḍana bāviyam mūḍal haraḷa kamma-

21. v=innūḍu mattam Gūgeya bāgiñ badagal=ereya mattar=ondu mattam Ballaharada bañagāṇa hattugeyol mattar=oñdu// Mattam=aliy=āpu-

22. var=ggaunḍagal=olage dharmmakke tavar-mmaney=enisi//Barmmagavuñḍaṅgāṁ sati nirmmaley=enisirddā Kētigāvuridige sa-ddharmmada kāpiy=udayisidaṁ nirmmaļa-

23. yaśan=enisi dharege Chiyaļagaudam //10// Todardd-arig=amjuvan=allaṁ nuñid=ent=adaṁ nuñivan=allan=ār=bbēñidaḍam/kuñuvude...yy=enisirppaṁ/baḍa-nañ-

24. tara Kāmadhenu Chiyalagaudam //11// Chiyaļagaudaṅgañgupa tōyadhiy=ene negardda Kātigāvuridige ka-/ ḫayada kāpiy-udayisidaṁ S'rī

25. yuvatige nallan = enisi Mūlīga-Bammapaṁ //12// Int=enisida Mūlīga-Chiyaļagaudam Grāmeś'vara-dēvara nitya-puje-nivēdyakk=end = ā-puṇya dinadolū

26. Rudras'akti-dēvara kālaṁ kārci dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ mādi tanna bañadolag-ommattar=ereya keyyuman=oñdu piriya maneyumaṁ biṭṭan=adāra si-

27. mey=āvud=eñdaḍe Goravana haljadiṁ terikapa pattugeyol=mattar=oñdu // Nannē'svarada pañuvāṇa pattugeyol maney=oñdu // Jattīga Kālīmayyīngaṁ/pe-

28. ṭuge s'uci Mārakabbegam giri-guheyo/putjuva śinħada teṛadiñ/puttiḍan = ol-ganijan=enisi Tippagavuñḍam //13// Mattam Tippane sad-gup-āvalīgalīñdame Tippane satya-

29. s'obhadīñ Tippane dāna dharmma.....dame Tippane peñpin-elgeyiñ Tippene gotra-mitra-dhāna-dhānya-suputrarin=amtu nōrppaḍam Tippaney=endu bañnipudu Tippa-

30. gauvuñḍanan=i-jagaj janake//14//vinaya-nidhi-Rājigaudige manu-charitan=enippa Tippagauḍam Grāmeś'vara-dēvara nitya-puje nivedyak = end = ā-puṇya dinadolage Rudras'ktideva-

31. lapa kuļake tilakar=enalke //15// Int=enisida.....jasara Tippagauḍam Grāmeś'vara-dēvara nitya-puje nivedyak = end = ā-puṇya dinadolage Rudras'ktideva-

32. ta kālaṁ karcci dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ mādi tanna kīriya magaṁ Mallarīnge-parōkra-vinēyam=akk=eindu tanna visaih kāpiya bajadojage Gaṁgeya bāgiñ temkapa pa

33. ttugeyoju bīṭha haraJa mattar=oindu // Idū negarttege neley=ād=ajuvar=ggāvurūḍgajalag=ārihindara kulakke tilakan-enisi // Sthira-puru—

34. sañi gupagana-nija purus-ārtthada beṭu Caṭṭagauḍarīgaṁ pañ-/karuha-mukhi-/Caudigauḍiga (m) para-hitan=ene puṭi Bosi-/gauḍa negardda (ñ) //16// Mattam // Ha-

35. rān=āptaṁ guru-Rudraśakti-munipañ-tāy-Cauri-gāvūñjī nainṭara.....guṇi Caṭṭagauḍa-janakaṁ tat-kānte Bōgayve putraru mattam Hiḍuva

36. upa-Ketappan=enalkaṁ Bollagāvurūḍjanant=irai=ārihindara-sat-kulakke sedavar=vvis'vāmbharā-bhāgadou () //17// Int=enisi negarttevetta Bōeigāvurūḍdañ darmma-

37. ...yīñ·Grāmeśvara-dēvara nitya pūje nivēdyakk=end=āpuṇya dinadol=aliy=ācāryya-Rudras'aktidēvara kālaṁ karcci dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ

38. (mā) di tanna hāgada bajadojage hiriya-magaṁ Hiḍuvāñṇana mūḍaladiñ sañkāṇiya temkapa pattugeyoju bīṭha kariya ke-

39. yi matter=oindam mattam=ajuvar=ggāvurūḍgalagajage tanna gōtrakke nētramenisi // Muriyara Bammagauḍa-vibhuviñge guṇāñbudhi-Bāgi-

40. gauḍigaṁ Hari-Hara-Nirajōdbhavare puṭidar=erība vol=oppe puṭidar ppurūṣa-nidhānar=int=enisi Kappagavuḍanu Jōgagauḍanuñ/Khara-kara-tejan=Int=

41. uṇpa Kalhemagauḍan=ija-tal-āgradoju ()//18// Ballidan=adaṭaṁ sāhasi / sal=lalitāṅgaṁ vivēka-nidhi gotra-jana-/kkellaṁ Cintāmaṇi guṇa / vallabhan=ene negardan=

42. Ĺege Kappagavuñja(m) //19// Vineya-nidhi-Kalhaṇaṁgaṁ vanaj-ānane Caudigāvurūḍigam=ārūḍpina kūrppin=oppin=āgara-/m=enal=ogedaṁ Padma-

43. n=amala Jina pada-padmañ//20// Int=enisida Muriyara Padmagauḍam tamma pīriy=aiyyaṁ Kappugaudarīng parōkra vine-yakk=end=ā punya dinadolu Gramē-

44. s'vara-dēvara nitya-pūje nivēdyakk=āhāra-dānak=endu tanna bejeya baJa-baJigeya holadojage Rudras'aktidēvara kālaṁ karcci dhārāpūrvvakaṁ mādi

45. bīṭha mattar=erađu // Adajā simey=āvud=eindade jāliyan-kepeyiñ pađuvana pattegeyoju kamblī vadḍam=āgi bađagalū haraJa mattar=oindu

46. du temkala=ereya mattar=oindu//Mattam Möliga Bamma

gauḍaṁ Grāmēśvara-devara nitya-nivēdyakk=erīdu Rudraśakti-dēvara kālaṁ karcci dhārā-pūrvvakāṁ mādi

47. tann=ereya bajadalli haḍuvana hāgadolage Kojakage-reya haḍuvana pattugeyoju biṭa Haraśakeyīḥ kamma viṇaḍī|. Kiru mu-

48. yulcan=āgi sirkāṇḍ-eṭedant=ire Bāgaṇabbe Grāmēśvara-maṁ / neṛe mādīsiḍalū Giri-sute-/y=eṭeyāṅgaṁ celvan=appa kal-veṣadiṁdaṁ //21// Aliy=āchā-

49. ryyaṁ//Jñāna-nidhi-guṇa-gaṇ-āmbudhi/dānada kapi sameya-dīpakaṁ negardda mahā / ethānaṁ Grāmēśvaraṁ=ena le (1 = ēn-e) īnbudo Rudraśaktidēvara pēṇpañ //22//

50. Avar=agra-s-iṣyān=ādaṁ / S'īva-pāda-dvaya-sarṭīnkalahāṁsaṁ / vividha-gupa-nīlayav=ene sa- / t-kavi-jana-sēryā-Vāmaśakti-brati-

51. rpa (par) //23// Harajina mattarig=aḍḍaṁ / karki=enip=om mattariṇge paṇamaṁ teñitum / baru mādītakke tāv=eua/1=arasarum=adhiśāriy=āruvaruṁ raloṣisuvāru (r) //24//

52. Mattam=āruvar=gāvupḍugajolagesā (so) gujada Rājiga-vupḍjana peṇḍiti Sōrigāvūḍi tanna makkalu Sāti gauḍanaṁ Das'a-magauḍanaṁ Dāsi-

53. gauḍanaṁ karedu itay-mugid=enag=orīdu punyam=appant=āgi mādīm=enal=avargal=ante geyyem=erīdu na keṛeyiṁ paḍi salasal=adap=idakke dānada

54. phala ninag=end=ā-keṛeya paḍuṇapa maggu-lali tamma hāgada bajadolage biṭa kariya keymattar=orīdu / mattam=ā-keṛeya keyya nūru (nūru) [bi]

55. ḍuvudu // Āruvaru gauḍīngaṁ ma/-ti=āruvatt=okkala Janakham=āyūḍi s'riyāṁ / Kārekanthaṁ Grāmēśvara d=eṭeyāṁ kuḍutirkke candra-taram=baregaṁ //25//

56. Sāsana-maryyādeumaṁ / pēṣadey=idan=alīven=emba mahā-pātakanam / ti sane pelina kujiyo/sāsira-sata varṣa bālavulu—

57. v=āgiy=avaṁ //26// Ivan=iy=añdadin=eyde pālīsiḍa-varug=iy=ārttha-saṁsiddhi-sambhavikuṁ Kond=alidaṁge-Garuge-Gaye-Kedāraṁ Kurukṣetram=em/

58. b=īvaroju pēṣade pārvvaraṁ Goravaraṁ gobriñdamāṁ mak-kaṭaṁ tave kond=ikkida pāpam=eydugum=avaṁ bilguṁ ni —godāṅga] //27//

59. Śrimatāṁ bhuvana-chāmdra-siddhānta-dēvara guḍḍaṁ Kalidēva-paṇḍita-dēvaru pēḍdaru Dhareya rūvāri cakravartti Sāmatījara kaṇḍarane//

TRANSLATION.

- Reverence to Śārabhu, the foundation pillar for the creation of the city of the three worlds, beautiful with a chowri in the shape of the moon which kisses his lofty brow.

2. There was Kālāmukh, the chief among the meritorious, who was famous among the noted sages, Pāśupatas, and those well-versed in the sacred lores.

3-6. Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious and valiant emperor Jagadēkamalladeva—the asylum of the universe, the lord of the earth, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the glory of the race of Satyāśraya, the ornament of the Cālukyas—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon, the sun, and the stars might last:

6-7. While Keśimayya the glorious and great minister, the head of the army, the commander,—that subsisted (as if he were a bee) on the lotuses, that were his feet—was ruling eradarunūru, with all the excellences suppressing the wicked and protecting the good;

7-8. The Belvala country known as the best land was famous like a gold flower beautifying the Kuntala country looking like the cluster of hair of a chaste lady, the earth.

8-10. In the Belvala country the charming town of Risi Srīngipura became extraordinarily beautiful in the world with the surrounding hills, gardens, many lakes, a multitude of excellent temples, heavenly holy waters, ladies with round breasts, and a host of best poets. And the greatness of the people living there was such :

11-12. People on the earth are lovingly extolling the Headmen of Pirisingi as benevolent, meritorious, well-versed in the arts, truthful, kind, resort to good poets, and able to protect those who seek their shelter.

13. The six people of Pirisingi were famous as the champions to protect the boundary, God of death to those who confront them, and donora of everything that is asked for. Among such (famous) headmen,.....known to be ten times superior to—

14-15. The famous Kāvagauṇḍa the burning lamp of his family praised by the people on the earth was born of Huliyama-gauḍa and his wife Basatigauḍi famous for her chastity.

15. He was the best in the race of Torchara, was the roofed carriage to the loving, was powerful like the falling thunder-bolt to the enemy, was a hero knowing no fear and help, and was the centre of the multitude of protectors.

16-17. To the lord Kāvagauṇḍa praised by the people, and his wife Kāligāvupḍi were born Bammapa, Kappana, Bāchana, Padma of the lustre of the sun, and Buguḍa the discriminative—like the five Pāṇḍavas. May they enjoy good luck, pomp, auspiciousness. Hail!

18-20. On Monday the tenth day of the bright half of Pushya, Vibhava-Samvatsara the eleventh year of the Cālukya Emperor Jagaddekkamalla's reign—the day was auspicious on account of the conjunction of Sankramana and Vyatipāta-Kāvagauḍa granted land measuring 2 Mattare and 200 Kamba from his own land having washed the feet of Rudra-Śakti the Āchārya of the place for the Ranga-Bhoga, Naivedya, and the repairs of the temple of Grāmeśvara of the holy place.

20-21. The boundaries of the grant-land are:—Two hundred Haralakammās to the east of Chāḍigauḍa's well; one Mattar of black soil to the north of Gūgeyābāgi; and one mattar adjoining the northern boundary of Ballahara.

22. Of the six head-men (Chiyalagauḍa) was the birth-place of religion. Chiyalagauḍa the store of merit and a man of pure fame was born of Barmmagāvupda and his wife Ketigāvupdi.

23. Chiyalagauḍa was the desire-yielding cow to his relatives, was giving in charity (anything) to everyone that was asking, was not going back on whatever he said, and was not afraid of those whom he met (on the field of battle).

24. Mūligabamma, the store of income, the lord of the goddess of wealth, was born of Chiyalagauḍa and the famous Ketigāvupdi, the ocean of virtues.

25-27.—Thus famed Mūliga-Chiyalagauḍa granted black soil measuring one mattara from his own landed property and one big house on that auspicious day for the daily worship and offering of food to God Grāmeśvara having washed the feet of Rudra-Śakti and having poured water. Its boundaries:—one mattara of land on the southern bank of the rivulet called Goravanhalla, and the house on the western boundary of (the temple of) Nannēvara.

27-28. The great hero Tippa-gavupda was born of the professional wrestler Käljinayya and the very pure Mārakabbe like a lion cub taking its birth in a cave of a mountain.

28-29. And, People in the world are praising Tippa-gauḍa as a unique person looking to his virtues, to his truthful splendour, to his charity, to his increasing pomp, and to his race, friends, wealth, corn, and good sons.

30. Ketanu and Sātanu the ornaments to his race, were born of Rājigauḍi, the ocean of modesty and Tippa-gauḍa acting up to the rules in the Code of Manu.

31-33. Thus famed Tippa-gauḍa granted one Harala mattara of land adjoining the southern boundary of Gangeya-bāga (share of Gāṅgā) from his own property for the daily worship and offering

of food to God Grāmeśvara having washed the feet of Rudrāśakti and having poured water.

33. Of the six Headmen (he), the home of fame being an ornament to the Ārindara race :

34. Famous was Bosigauda, the benevolent, born of Chetṭa-gauḍa—a man of firmness, mountain of virtues and the four objects of man—and his wife Voḍi-gauḍi of lotus face.

35-36. Who on the face of the earth will express their disapproval at the virtuous race of Ārindara when the preceptor is Rudrāśakti—the favourite of Hara—, the mother Voḍi-gavundī, the father the virtuous Chetṭa-gauḍa, his wife Bogayve, and his sons Hiduvanna, Kētaṇa, and Balla-gavundī.

36-38. Thus-famed Bosi-gavundī granted one Kariya-kemattara of land from his own share on the southern border of his landed property, and to the east of his eldest son-Hiduvanna's (share land) for the daily worship and offering of food to God Grāmeśvara, on the auspicious day having washed the feet of the preceptor Rudrāśakti and having poured water.

39. And among the six Headmen (he) being an eye to his race—

39-40. The treasure of manhood Kappa-gavundī, Jogagauda, and Kaihema-gauḍa the lustre of whom was like that of the Sun were born of lord Muriyara Bamma-gauḍa and his—wife Bāgi-gauḍi, the ocean of virtue, like Hari, Hara, and Brahma as if born on earth.

41. Kappa-gavundī was famous as an able, powerful, enterprising and handsome man, a store of prudence, a desire-yielding gem to all in his family, and the lord of virtues.

42. Padma (the devotee of the) lotus-like feet of Jina, was born of Kaihaṇa (and his wife) the lotus faced Chaudi-gaudi. He was powerful, and was the store of love and elegance.

43-44. Thus known Muriyara Padma-gauḍa granted two mattars of land held by virtue of his staff (of authority) for the daily worship, offering of food to God Grāmeśvara, and for giving of food (to munies), having washed the feet of Rudrāśaktideva and having poured water for the direct welfare of his elder uncle Kappa-gauḍa.

45. ...Its boundaries are:—one Haraja mattara of land on the western boundary of Acacia lake, and bounded on the north by bamboo growth; and on the south one mattara of black soil.

46-47. And Milliga Bama-gauḍa granted 200 Kammas of land with the measure Harśkey from the western part of his black

soil on the western boundary of Kolaka-gere (a lake) for the daily offering of food to God Grāmeśvara having washed the feet of Rudraśaktideva, and having poured water.

48. Bagapabbé got built in beautiful stone-work the temple of Grāmeśvara for the Lord of the daughter of the Mountain as if bathed in sandal paste. The preceptor of that place.

49. What is to be said of the pomp of Rudraśakti of the great holy place of Grāmeśvara, the illuminator of dogmas, the store of knowledge, the ocean of virtues, the mine of alms-giving.

50. The foremost of his disciples was the sage Vāmaśakti, the goose in the lotuses that were the two feet of Śiva, the home of different virtues, and the one served by excellent poets.

51. The king and the six authorities will maintain the gift of land which was a bit less than one Harāla-matara, and which was purchased with money.

52-54. And of the six headmen Sūri-gāvundi the wife of Rājigavuṇḍa of Sāgulla called her sons Sāti-gauḍa, Daśama-gauḍa and Dāsi-gauḍa, folded her hands, and (begged of them to) do her that much (favour) by virtue of which she may obtain religious merit. Saying that they would do so, they granted one mattara of black soil from the land of their share on the western boundary of tank
 ... , and one hundred cubits of the tank-land telling her that she may obtain the fruit of that grant.

55. To the six headmen and the sixty-four husbandmen may that black-necked God of the Grāmeśvara temple favour long life and prosperity as long as the moon, the sun, and the stars endure.

56. He, who will, without any feeling of aversion, say that he would transgress the limits of this grant will certainly live in the pit of ordure for one hundred thousand years as a worm.

57-58. He, who maintains these (gifts) in this manner, shall obtain the fulfilment of his desires. He, who transgresses them, shall incur the sin of having killed without any aversion Brāhmaṇas, sages, cows, and babies at the Ganges, Gayā, Kedāra, and Kurukṣetra, and he will fall in ordure.

59. Kalideva-pāṇḍitadeva, the disciple of the glorious Bhuvanacandra-siddhāntadeva, composed (this grant). Incision is of Sāmatoja the emperor of sculptors.

K. G. KUNDANGAR.

THE ARMS AND SEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

There is almost an element of romance in the history of the origin and design of the coat of arms of the University of Bombay and of the vicissitudes through which the University seal has passed since it first came into existence. Probably, very few are aware that in the year 1861 the University of Bombay adopted a seal bearing a heraldic design, which was later pronounced by the Garter King of Arms to be "as far from rule or propriety as it can well be," and which, after having been used by the University as its common seal for a period of nearly three years, was discarded in favour of a design duly approved by the College of Arms in England. The records in the University Office show that, after a proper grant of arms was made to the University under the authority of the Earl Marshal of England, an order was placed for engraving a new seal with these arms, and that this new seal was received and paid for. There is, however, no trace of that seal, and no one knows what became of it, although the old seal which had been rejected is still in existence. If one turns to the old University calendars which were published from the year 1861 onwards, one finds that the impression on the cover and the title page of the first two issues, namely, those of 1861 and 1862-63, is that of the old seal. The impression of the seal is conspicuous by its absence in the calendars for the years 1863-64 and 1864-65, probably because the old seal had by then been definitely condemned, and the new one had not yet been received from England. The subsequent issues of the calendar contain the impression of the correct design, although the original shape of the shield is not strictly adhered to.

It is proposed in this article to give a short and authentic account, based on original records, of the history of the armorial bearings and the seal of the University. In recounting the steps and the procedure which the University had to go through in order to obtain an appropriate and heraldically correct and authorized design for its armorial bearings, it will be necessary to refer to, and discuss, a few technical terms of heraldry. Although these will be explained where necessary, it may perhaps be helpful, for a proper understanding of the meaning of the several heraldic devices, to give a short preliminary explanation of the more important of the heraldic terms which will figure later.

Heraldry, as is well-known, is the art or science of genealogy and armorial bearings, and in the Middle Ages it became, according to Stubbs, "a handmaid of chivalry, and the marshalling of badges, crests, coat-armour, pennons, helmets and other devices of distinction grew into an important branch of knowledge." The Heralds' College, or College of Arms, to which reference will be made later, was incorporated in England in the reign of Richard III, in the year 1483. It consists of the Earl Marshal as its head, a hereditary office enjoyed by the family of the Dukes of Norfolk, three Kings of Arms, six Heralds, an extra Herald, and four Pursuivants. The College is concerned with the granting of armorial bearings and the tracing of genealogies. Grants may emanate in two ways, namely, from the Crown by Royal Warrant or by Patent under the authority of the Earl Marshal which is duly recorded in the College. The Earl Marshal's jurisdiction and authority to grant armorial bearings extends not only over the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland but even to the Colonies and Dependencies of the Crown. In Scotland the Heraldic functions are performed by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, and in Ireland by the Ulster King of Arms.

Armorial bearings consist of emblems or 'charges' traced or recorded on the ground which takes the shape of a *shield* or *escutcheon*. The *shield* varies a great deal in shape, but is depicted triangular on the oldest monuments, coins and seals. The surface or space within the boundary lines of the *shield* is technically called the *field*. The *chief* (from the French word *chef* which means "head") is the whole upper part of the shield which is cut off from the rest of the *field* by a right (straight) line or any other of the partition lines used in Heraldry, and usually comprises a third part of the *escutcheon*. The *shield* or *escutcheon* is distinguished by certain armorial colours called *tinctorates*, separated by division lines, and charged with a variety of animals, instruments and other objects, called in Heraldry 'charges'. *Tinctorates* may be metals, colours or furs. The metals are *or* (gold) and *argent* (silver), and the colours are *azure* (blue), *gules* (red), *vert* (green), *sable* (black) and *purpure* (purple). The furs are, *ermine*, *ermesines*, *ermissois*, etc., but these need not detain us here. Partition or division lines are of different kinds. They may be right lines, or engrailed, inverted, wavy, indented, *dancettee*, etc.

A field or a charge can be divided into equal parts in several ways. Three of such divisions, which are the most common, are divisions *per pale*, *quarterly* and *per fess*. A field or charge is said to be divided *per pale* when it is divided into two equal parts by a perpendicular line. A *quarterly* division is made by two lines, one perpendicular and the other horizontal, so that the object, whether a field or a charge, is cut up into four equal parts. A division *per*

fess is effected by a horizontal line dividing the field or charge into two equal parts. The *inescutcheon* is a small *escutcheon* borne within the shield. The *canton* is less than the quarter and usually occupies the dexter *chief* (right hand top corner) of the *shield*, comprising a third part of the *chief*. The *escutcheon of pretence* is a shield on which a man carries the arms of his wife, if she be an heiress. It is borne in the centre of the shield, and is usually of the same shape as the shield itself.

When a lion or other beast of prey stands upright (usually with only one ear and one eye visible) he is termed *rampant*; when walking forward (usually with one eye and ear seen) *passant*; when sitting, *sejant*; when lying down, *couchant*. If in any of these positions the animal looks full face, so that both eyes and ears can be seen, the word *guardant* is annexed to the words, *rampant*, *passant*, etc.; and if he looks back, the word *reguardant*.

It is an inviolable rule of Heraldry that metal shall never be placed upon metal, nor colour upon colour; in other words, if the field be of colour, the immediate charge must be metal, and vice versa. In *blazoning*, or giving a technical description of a coat of arms, the following rules should be observed. While each bearing must be described minutely with its exact position and tincture, the description should be as brief as possible. When the same metal, colour or fur is used more than once in a coat, the repetition of its name is avoided, and expressions are used such as "of the first, second or third," "of the field," etc. The *blazon* begins with the description of the field, its tincture or tinctures, and then proceeds to the partition lines and charges.

The general explanations of heraldic terms and devices just given, which have been drawn from standard books on Heraldry like Burke's Encyclopaedia of Heraldry (1847) will, it is hoped, enable the reader to appreciate the devices of the coats of arms described or discussed in this article.

Although the University of Bombay was incorporated on the 18th July, 1857, no steps appear to have been taken by either the Syndicate or the Senate to adopt a design for the University seal until January 1860. The first reference to the seal is in the minutes of the meeting of the Syndicate held on the 6th January, 1860. From these minutes it appears that Mr. E. I. Howard, the then Director of Public Instruction, who was present at the meeting, was reminded of his promise to write to England and inquire about a grant of arms to the University. Mr. Howard thereafter, through a friend in England, put himself in communication with Sir Charles Young, the

Garter King of Arms in England, who proposed a coat-of arms of the following description :—

"*Gules* a lion of England *or*. On a chief indented, *argent*, three boars' heads, erased, *gules*".

[i.e. a golden lion representing England, painted on a red coloured field, and three boars' heads (with jagged edges) painted red on a white background on the upper portion of the shield, divided from the remaining portion by an indented line.]

Mr. Howard, who was evidently something of an artist, submitted an artistic drawing of the above design for a seal, and also a form of the petition to be made to the Earl Marshal for a grant of arms.

The Registrar was asked to obtain information about the design adopted by the University of Calcutta for its seal. It was found on inquiry that that University had adopted the arms of the East India Company as appearing on a copper pice. At a meeting held on the 28th July of the same year, the Syndicate resolved "that the seal should be as plain as possible and without device;" and that instead of the three boars' heads Lord Elphinstone's name as the first Chancellor should be engraved on the seal. A design made in accordance with the above resolution (See Fig. 1) was submitted by Captain Rivers to the Syndicate at their meeting on the 8th September, 1860. The Syndicate were apparently not satisfied with this design, because, at their meeting of the 15th December, 1860, they appointed a sub-committee "to decide on the seal," so that the design could be submitted to the following meeting of the Senate. Two designs (which cannot be traced) were submitted by the sub-committee, which would appear to have been considered by the Senate at their meeting held on the 18th December, 1860. Dr. Robert Haines, the then Acting Registrar, remarks in a memorandum, dated the 8th August, 1863, prepared by him for the information of the Syndicate, that neither the notice nor the minutes of the meeting of the Senate make any mention of the seal. From subsequent papers, however, it can be gathered that the Senate did consider the question on the 18th December.

There follows next a letter addressed by the Registrar to Government on the 29th December, 1860, (Letter No. 311), in which, after stating that Act XXII of 1857 whereby the University was incorporated requires that the University should have a common seal, he goes on to observe that no seal has yet been granted, and that the Syndicate with the approval of the Senate (in all probability obtained at their meeting of the 18th December) propose as the common seal a design which, if not disapproved by the Government the Uni-

versity will adopt as their common seal. A description of the seal is given as follows :—

"The seal is heraldic—a Scutcheon of Pretence, Quarterly 1st and 4th.—Sable, a hand holding an open Book Argent (for the University)

2nd.—Argent, three boars' heads erased, Gules, two and one (These the University would adopt as part of the bearing of their First Chancellor, Lord Elphinstone)

3rd.—Gules, an Elephant proper armed Or (for India) and over all on a scutcheon of pretence the Lions of England. The whole enclosed in a garter with the legend 'University of Bombay'."

By his letter No. 15, dated the 10th January, 1861, the Secretary to Government informed the Registrar that the Hon'ble the Governor in Council approved the proposed design of the seal. The seal was engraved accordingly, and any one desirous of seeing it can inspect it at the office of the University Registrar. The seal is of silver, and the original case in which it was received from its manufacturers in England has also been preserved. A coloured drawing of the design engraved on the seal is reproduced in Fig. 4.

From what has just been related it must have been clear to the reader that the original idea of obtaining a grant of arms from the Earl Marshal was subsequently abandoned. The additional memoranda prepared by Dr. Haines throw some light on the decision of the University not to make any reference to the College of Arms before adopting a design. Doubts were expressed in the Syndicate, and perhaps also in the Senate, whether the authority of the Earl Marshal of England extended to India, and the general opinion appears to have been that the University was free to adopt as its common seal whatever armorial bearings it pleased. The Government of Bombay to whom the design had been submitted for approval had also taken no objection, and no one seemed to have taken the trouble to ascertain whether the armorial bearings which the University had thus decided to adopt without any reference to the highest authority in such matters, namely the College of Arms, was heraldically correct or not. In fact, the seal thus adopted was actually used by the University authorities without any misgiving or hesitation, until Mr. Howard at a meeting of the Senate held in April 1863 questioned the wisdom of the action of the University in adopting armorial bearings without even a reference to the Heralds' College.

The Syndicate were thereupon asked by the Senate to reconsider the design of the common seal, and in the lengthy memorandum pre-

pared by him for the consideration of the Syndicate Dr. Haines argued that "although the doings of an individual may attract little notice, those of a corporation are more exposed to observation, and it is to be considered how far it is a dignified proceeding for a legally established corporation to assume of their own will and pleasure any heraldic bearings, without having these accorded to them in the usual way by the Heralds' College. And to a corporation connected by such close ties with Her Majesty's Government as an Indian University is, the above argument, if valid at all, would apply with tenfold force". Dr. Haines submitted further that, even if it was open to the University to adopt a coat of arms without asking for a grant from the Earl Marshal, it would still have been the right thing "to submit the arms to some person skilled in heraldry, who would give a trustworthy opinion upon the propriety of the charge, and the correctness of the blazon".

Dr. Haines invites attention to certain features presented by the arms on the seal adopted by the University which violate the elementary principles of heraldry. He points out that quartering is simply a heraldic device for uniting the bearings of different individuals in one escutcheon, implying the previous existence of a separate coat of arms forming each quarter, and that corporations bear an escutcheon quarterly only in very rare cases, the bearings being those of their founders or of eminent persons connected with their foundation. Again, while the four quarters usually contain only two distinct charges, the first and fourth and the second and third being exactly alike, in the seal of the University a third charge is introduced in the second quarter, namely, the boars' heads of Elphinstone, which destroys the impression of the whole coat of arms being a novel and original device, coeval with, and illustrating, the foundation of the University. The device thus conveys an erroneous view of the history of the foundation of the University.

With regard to the arms of the English Sovereign borne on the inescutcheon the impropriety is perhaps greater. The inescutcheon, like the canton, is ordinarily only an augmentation of honour, especially granted by the Sovereign in token of great merit. An inescutcheon borne on the arms of a sovereign denotes a dominion subordinate to that of the principal shield. When the wife is an heiress or co-heiress, her arms are borne on an inescutcheon over those of her husband, and the inescutcheon is then called an escutcheon of pretence. The inescutcheon on the seal in question is charged with the armorial bearings of the kings of England since the time of Henry II, *viz.*, three golden lions, passant, guardant, paleways (*i.e.*, one over the other) in a field, gules. Such arms cannot be granted by Heralds without a Warrant from the Sovereign. They take precedence of all

other arms, and must be recorded in the Heralds' College with all due solemnity (Nisbet, *Essay on Armoury*, p. 149, quoted by Thompson on Heraldry). All these conditions are set at naught in the original University seal.

Dr. Haines adds that an unauthorized "use of the Royal arms is not a mere courtesy to the Sovereign, but may become a matter of serious import", and by way of illustration he quotes the instance of the Earl of Surrey who was charged, tried and convicted of high treason, and beheaded just before the death of Henry VIII, the principal charge against him being that "..... he had set up, joined to his proper bearings, the Arms of Edward the Confessor..... which belonged to the King in right of his kingdom, and might not be borne by any subject". Dr. Haines humorously remarks that though "the reign of Victoria is not that of Henry VIII, (and) although no heads might fall, the University of Bombay may do well not to risk the forfeiture of its Charter by tempting too far the forbearance of the Sovereign".

Whether it was the fate of the Earl of Surrey who was convicted of high treason and beheaded because he had committed an unpardonable offence against the laws of Heraldry, or whether it was any of the other considerations so ably urged by Dr. Haines for obtaining a proper grant of Arms, that impressed upon the Syndicate the necessity of giving serious thought to the question of the armorial bearings on the University Seal, they took a prompt decision to address a petition to the Earl Marshal of England for a grant of armorial bearings to the University. A petition was accordingly addressed to His Grace, the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, on the 8th October, 1863. Mr. (later, Sir) Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney had, in the meantime, come forward with an offer to bear the expenses attendant upon the grant of arms and the engraving of the seal and made a donation of Rs. 1,200 to the University for the purpose. The petition, after reciting the object and purpose for which the University of Bombay was incorporated, and describing its constitution, proceeds to state that the Senate, "being desirous that Armorial Ensigns should be assigned under (His) Grace's authority to the (said) University" a request is made that His Grace will be pleased to issue his "Warrant to the Kings of Arms for their granting and assigning such Arms as may be proper to be borne by the (said) University of Bombay on seals, shields or otherwise, according to the Laws of Arms".

In the letter forwarding the petition, and addressed to Sir Charles Young, Garter King of Arms, the Registrar added that it was the wish of the Senate that the Arms to be granted to the University might contain "a referente to the family of Lord Elphinstone, the first Chancellor, a device representative of learning, with some emblem

pointing to India or the East, and England, and if possible also to the East India Company". The memorandum prepared by Dr. Haines and a reduced engraving of the then existing seal were also forwarded for the information of the Garter King of Arms. The Government of Bombay was apprised of the steps that the University was thus taking to obtain a proper grant of arms from the Heralds' College and of the generous offer of Mr. Cowasji Jehangir. The Chief Secretary to Government, in acknowledging the receipt of the Acting University Registrar's letter containing the above information, conveyed to the University Government's appreciation of the interest taken by Mr. Cowasji Jehangir in the University (*vide* letter No. 560 of 1863, dated the 17th October, 1863).

The next important document to which reference must be made was a letter from Sir Charles Young, Garter King of Arms, dated the 2nd December, 1863. In this letter Sir Charles Young pointed out that the device to be finally adopted should be carefully considered, as a patent once issued could not be altered, and he submitted for the consideration of the Senate four different designs. That there was ample justification for the doubts cast upon the correctness of the then existing seal by Dr. Haines in his memorandum, will appear from the following excerpt from Sir Charles Young's letter of the 2nd December :—

"Permit me to remark (which I do merely for your information only) that the present seal is as far from rule or propriety as it can well be. The design represents the bearing of a person who by the mode of *quartering* represents a branch of two ancestors, heiresses, and married (by the representation of the *Escococheon of Pretence*) to an heiress of Plantagenet being himself (by encircling the Garter) a Knight of that Noble Order."

Sir Charles Young also set at rest the doubts which had been raised, (*vide* Dr. Haines's memorandum), regarding the jurisdiction of the Earl Marshal, by pointing out that the Earl Marshal had full jurisdiction and authority "in respect to the Grant of Armorial Ensigns in the Colonies and dependencies of the Crown, as in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and though Grants may emanate from the Crown by Royal Warrant, in cases of Royal foundations of the Crown it is a mode of accomplishing an object attended by a double expense, and of late years the Grants made to Colonial Universities as also to Episcopal Sees, have been made by Patent under the authority of the Earl Marshal, and duly recorded in this College"

The Garter King of Arms further pointed out that the designs submitted by him embodied the points indicated in the letter for-

warding the petition for the grant, "with as little confusion and crowding as possible", which was to be avoided in view of the fact that the most general use of the Armorial Ensigns would be on a seal which could not be of very large dimensions. The University approved Design No. 1 (See Fig. 5) received with the letter of the Garter King of Arms, and in his letter, No. 5 of 1864-65, dated the 13th June, 1864, to the Garter King of Arms, the University Registrar intimated this fact and requested that a grant of arms be issued in accordance with that design, of which an artistic drawing by Mr. Howard was sent with the letter. The College of Arms was prompt in issuing the Patent, as a letter from Sir Charles Young, dated the 8th September, 1864, states that the Patent and accompanying paintings for the seal are nearly completed and will be despatched by the next mail sailing after the 9th September. On the 13th January the University placed an order with Messrs. Halfhide and Standish, Seal Engravers, London, for engraving a common seal for the University with the Arms granted by the Earl Marshal. The seal was to be of silver with an ivory handle, and the engravers were asked to take instructions from the University's agents in England, Messrs. Smith Elder & Co.

From a *memo*, in the University file it appears that the grant of arms cost the University £84-7-7 and that the seal cost £27-7-6, the total cost being £111-15-1 or Rs. 1,117-8-8 according to the then rate of exchange. Thus, out of Rs. 1,200 received from Mr. Cowasji Jehangir for the arms and seal a balance of Rs. 82-7-4 still remained with the University.

The next we hear of any reference to the seal is in May 1877 when the Registrar of the University of Madras addressed a letter to the Registrar of the University of Bombay inquiring what steps had been taken for obtaining the design for, and engraving the seal of, the Bombay University, and also who had paid its cost. From the letter of the Registrar of the University of Madras it appears that till that date his University had not obtained an appropriate seal. In April 1911, the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Educational Department, by his letter, dated 25th April, 1911, asked the Registrar of the Bombay University for information regarding the procedure adopted for obtaining the cost of arms, to be forwarded to the Under-Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces. On the 15th May, 1922, the officer on special duty with the Delhi University asked for an impression of the common seal and the coat of arms, probably with a view to using it as a model for their own. It will be of interest to the reader to know that the coat of arms of the University of Bombay has been placed along with the armorial bearings of the other Universities of the British Empire and of the Allies of

Great Britain in the Great War in the Great Hall, Hart House of the University of Toronto.

The occasions for making use of the common seal of the University were very rare, as ordinarily contracts entered into on behalf of the University were signed by the Registrar, pursuant to resolutions of the Syndicate, and sealing was not resorted to. When documents of a more formal nature, like leases, were executed, the practice adopted was to affix paper wafers to such documents. Though this practice was not strictly regular, it appeared to have been in vogue for a long time, and the reason was not far to seek. The common seal of the University, of which a short history has been given, had mysteriously disappeared at some time or other, and no living person could throw any light on what had become of it. The old rejected seal was still in the University Office, but it was worse than useless, and in September 1932 the Syndicate had to be asked to consider whether the time had not come for ordering a new common seal. It was pointed out to them that the engraving of such a seal would not take long as there were competent engravers in India. The cost too would not be very great. The Syndicate came to a prompt decision, and authorized the Registrar to make inquiries about the possible cost of engraving such a seal and to report the result of his inquiries to the following meeting of the Syndicate. The Registrar was able to secure an offer from a local engraver for making a silver seal, two inches in diameter, at a cost of Rs. 52 and a pair of steel dies for embossing the seal on paper at a cost of Rs. 48. The Syndicate ordered the seal and the dies, and the University once again owns a common seal, which is a necessary part of its corporate existence, but which existed only notionally during the long interval that elapsed between the time that the old seal was lost and the new one replaced it.

The coat of arms on this seal has been reproduced in Fig. 5, below in a coloured drawing. The following is a correct heraldic description of the arms on the above coloured design of the University seal :—

"Gules a Lion passant, guardant, crowned with an Eastern Crown Or, resting the dexter paw upon an open book Proper, on a chief dancettée Argent three Boars' heads erased of the field."

The above technical description when paraphrased into plain English reads thus :

On a field coloured red is the figure of a golden lion, walking forward with its face turned towards the observer. The lion wears a golden crown which on account of its shape is

known in heraldry as an Eastern crown, and its right paw is placed upon an open book which is represented in its natural colour, namely, white. On the upper portion of the shield, which is divided from the lower by a dancette line (already explained) three boars' heads are shown against a white background. The boars' necks are unevenly cut, as if the heads had been violently wrenched from the bodies of the animals.

The symbolism is clear : The boars' heads are part of the armorial bearings of Lord Elphinstone, the first Chancellor of the University. The open book is an emblem of learning, representing the University. The figure of the golden lion wearing an Eastern crown is intended to indicate the close connection between India and England, in accordance with the wish of the Senate which was conveyed to the Garter King of Arms when the petition for the grant of arms was made.

A reference has already been made to the vicissitudes through which the University seal has passed since it first came into existence. Even after the issue of the authorized design from the Heralds' College, no attempt seems to have been made to adhere to it in the reproductions of the arms either in the University calendars or in prominent parts of the University buildings.

In the University calendar for the year 1865-66, the impression on the cover and the title-page shows a departure from the original design. The ornamental background which sets off the shield is evidently intended to enhance its pictorial effect. (See Fig. 2). In the very next issue of the calendar a still further departure is visible. The two concentric circles and the words "University of Bombay" are no longer to be seen. The shape of the shield which was triangular in the previous issue is altered once more, and the roundness of its lower portion gives it a close resemblance to the original drawing. The boundary lines of the shield contain far too many curves, and are clearly intended to produce an ornamental effect. The chief or upper part of the shield, containing the representation of Lord Elphinstone's arms, does not appear as an integral part of the shield, but produces the impression of an ornamental bar to a medal. (See Fig. 6). The design on the title-page is coloured, though that on the cover is an ordinary uncoloured drawing. This coloured drawing appears on the title-page of all the University calendars published since 1867 for an unbroken period of nearly sixty years, although minor changes in the shapes and sizes of the shield and the charges on it are perceptible. It is difficult to say who was responsible for the departure from the original drawing. The marble tablets in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Convocation Hall and the Uni-

versity Library Building contain representations of the University arms which imitate this design*. On the other hand, the stained glass windows in the Eastern and Western walls of the Convocation Hall bear the device of a triangular shield with somewhat fantastic figures of the lion and the boars' heads. The shield is further surrounded by eight small circles, three of which contain the figure of the lion. The boars' heads fill three of the remaining five circles. It may interest the reader to know that at the entrance to the University Library above the central doorway there is a design in stone of the University coat of arms, which is far from accurate. The boars' heads are not erased, and are too much crowded together, and the lower portion of the shield is ornamented. Another coloured drawing on a glass panel greets the eye of the visitor to the University, above the porch over the entrance to the University Registrar's Office from the North of the University Gardens.

The only explanation that one can suggest for the kaleidoscopic changes in the representations of the armorial bearings of the University adopted from time to time (*Vide* Figs. 2, 3 & 6) is that the block engravers or other artists who were entrusted with the work of reproducing them on paper, glass or stone must have been persons "of imagination all compact", whose love of the ornamental and the grotesque proved too strong for their imitative instinct, and whose hazy notions of the art of heraldry prevented them from realising that they were drifting further and further away from the true and original design.

My thanks are due to my wife who has very kindly prepared the coloured designs and pen drawings which illustrate this article.

S. R. DONGERKERY.

*The back of the chair which the Vice-Chancellor sits on at the time of the Convocation has the same design carved on it. The chair used by His Excellency the Chancellor has, on the other hand, the correct and authorized coat of arms engraved on its back. It is difficult to say when these chairs were made. Evidently they were not made at the same time, and the Chancellor's chair seems to be the older of the two.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

INTUITION, ART AND MYSTICISM

Among the most misunderstood words in the English language are Science, Philosophy and Religion. The traditional view has been that Science is supremely rational while Religion is essentially non-rational. It was hoped that Philosophy will offer to humanity a via-media between the two,—translating in terms of reason the insubstantialities of religious experience and humanising the severe intellectual primness of scientific laws and facts. With the dawn of the present century, however, Science has perceptibly lost its former cocksureness and conviction. Every day its foundations are in a mystifying state of flux. Even such an enthusiastic Scientist like Dr. Leopold Infeld writes in his recent book, *The World in Modern Science*,—"We realize more clearly how great is the extent of our ignorance. Through the victories of science, through the great theories in which we apprehend the harmony of the universe, through the development and progress of modern science, we become ever more profoundly sensible of the disparity between the wealth and abundance of reality around us and the limitation and poverty of our comprehension." Indeed, the philosopher who would neatly build upon the foundations of Science is in an unenviable position ; for, as things are, he must needs build upon shifting sands, and any moment his excellent edifice might come crumbling down. The philosopher, wandering in the realms of experience for data to interpret the universe around us and our own life, finds at the gate to the still delectable avenue of Physics the tantalising words : "This road is now closed for repairs : trespassers will be prosecuted." Rationalists themselves must steel their hearts to pull down Science from its rock of eminence. However unpalatable the lesson, they must learn that Science is not the precise cut-and-dried thing it had been thought to be. In fact, in its bases and processes it is little different from Religion ; in Professor Parkes's words : "Science has been an attempt to understand the process of nature and thereby to make them seem less strange and hostile ; its roots, like those of religion, are in the feeling that man is an alien in the universe. It originated in the faith that God has made the world, that He has made it in accordance with a plan, and that man's intelligence was similar to God's." Science too, like Religion, thrives on theories and faiths and schisms. Its great advances are no less the work of intuitive seers who waited for and got revelation from far off, far above. The

Newtonian hypothesis of absolute space may be demolished ; the omnipresent ether of Sir Oliver Lodge may be proved non-existent ; but Einstein, far from destroying all 'absolutes', has merely postulated yet another absolute, the unchanging velocity of Light.

Time was when the careless under-graduate thought that what was reducible to a mathematical equation or was capable of numerical or graphical description carried necessarily its own rationality and concreteness. Pure Mathematics are exact, no doubt ; but beyond a limit they cease to have any human relevance. Surds and imaginary numbers, Tensor Calculus and Non-Euclidean Geometry, the fourth dimension and the curvature of the universe cannot by any means be translated into human analogies. So also the province of modern Theoretical Physics is full of difficulties for the rational man. Einstein and Planck and Dirac, De Broglie and Schrodinger and Heisenberg juggle with elementary concepts and express their conclusions in the framework of an equation. The mathematical relativist would summarise the whole vast universe and its history with an elaborate differential equation. But the equation can be no more than an equation. Can it be supposed to comprehend equally the fact that Homer wrote the *Iliad* and Brutus murdered Julius Cæsar ? Einstein himself will be the first to deny the validity of such deductions : he knows well enough the distinctions between a mathematical theory and the queer diversities of human phenomena. There are students in their teens to whom the approach of sleep at midnight may be more living and vital than the rigid accuracy of the Binomial Theorem ; there are lovers to whom the pang of separation may be more physical a pain than biting cold or parching thirst ; there are seers and god-intoxicated souls who may testify to the greater glory of the other-world vis-a-vis the diversity and chaos of our own world. To dismiss as unreal such examples of concrete experience because they cannot be recorded and tabulated in a laboratory is to adopt a self-stultifying attitude. Rather, it is appropriate to tell the Scientist that

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

The world has been taught to believe ever so long that in the Epic of Evolution it was only when the animals emerged, the play of instinct was noticeable, and that with man, "the crown and roof of creation" according to Tennyson, intellect at last asserted itself. Man is a rational animal ; he thinks, argues, cogitates, hesitates,—and incidentally makes himself quite miserable. Is intellect a blessing or a curse to humanity ? The answer is that intellect is like the terrible Djin described in the Arabian Nights : it is either the most

despotic of masters or the most obedient of slaves. Shakespeare's Hamlet is the perfect example of the failure of an utterly intellectual life. While one spins out the hours with arguments and analyses, ought-to-bes and ought-to-dos, time slips away, one is stranded and despairs of peace of mind or happiness. Intellect is usually competent enough to steer its votaries clear of minor blunders. For destructive analysis, Intellect has no peer. The intellectualists of the eighties and nineties and the first decade of the present century largely played a destructive role. Crude beliefs in religion, inhuman social customs, and primitivist acceptances of whatever sort, all came under the searchlight of intellectual analysis and the Shaws and Bennetts and Robertsons of the day strode the literary world like so many Colossuses. But the Great War brought about a change in outlook. In the post-war world little was left to disintegrate and the intellectualists were called upon to do a bit of constructive thinking. And here they found mere intellectualism just a kind of activity in vacuum. Post-war literature repeatedly struck a note of disillusionment and purposelessness. The Bright Young Things sketched in the novels of Aldous Huxley, Evelyn Waugh, Beverley Nichols and Richard Strachey and the plays of Noel Coward were the rule rather than the exception. The post-war intellectualist attitude took stock of the million details and failed to grasp the significance of the whole. Casuistry and sophistry and similar forms of evasion of moral responsibility and duty all proceeded from a highly developed intellectualism and came more and more into prominence. On the other hand, some few people began to question the supremacy of the intellect. They felt with Swami Vivekananda that "the intellect is only the street cleaner, cleansing the path for us, a secondary worker." They realized the profound truth of Thomas a Kempis' words : "Human reason is weak and may be deceived, but true faith cannot be deceived." And when M. Bergson came forward to prove that one and one might make three, the intellectualist position was more than ever slippery. Bergson was swallowed with avidity : one believed with him that "a compound psychic entity was the sum of its parts, and yet it was much more than those parts taken distributively. Things grew together and were transformed into other and better things, in such a way that the intelligence could nowhere lay its finger on the process. To realise how it happened one must abandon the intelligence altogether and listen with one's intuition to the throbbing of historic growth." The intellectualist position in the years immediately after the war was this : the false things in human belief and practice had been torn to shreds by the analytical razor flourishes of intellectualism ; but no amount of intellectual training and discipline was able to synthesise the apparent diversities in the

universe into a purposeful and organic whole. The average man had therefore to ask himself : "The rude sheet anchor or primitivism may be gone, but where is the benefit to me if I am thereby only left rudderless in the storm-tossed sea of perplexity and despair?" The whole-hogger for the intellect is yet to frame a satisfying answer to that question.

The reaction to intellectualism in recent decades has taken us too far in the direction of animality. Take Behaviourism for instance. Professor Watson, its founder, and others refer to Behaviourism as proletarian psychology. But Behaviourism is neither proletarian nor psychology. Psychology is a study of the mind, the psyche ; Behaviorism is a denial of the mind. Hence Behaviouristic psychology is a flat contradiction in terms. Criticising Behaviourism Mr. Bertrand Russel wrote : "Descartes said 'I think, therefore I am.' Watson says, 'There are white rats, therefore I don't think.' How long will it take the followers of Thoughtless Psychology to learn the historical and cultural differences between a man and a rat?" And the Psychoanalysts like Freud, Jung, Adler and Jones lay the emphasis elsewhere, and again wrongly. They refer most of the malformations and maladies of the human soul to the suppression of sexual impulses in childhood and youth. They are obsessed by the homosexual libido to which they attribute the very basis of society. The intellectual greatness of a Hamlet is denied and in its place his Oedipus complex or love of Gertrude and homosexual leanings towards Horatio are affirmed. The Freudian catalogue of complexes is an open challenge to intellectualism. So too the Russian Physiologist, Professor Pavlov's researches with manikins and drip-hounds and his enlarged theory of conditioned reflexes attempt to pull down man to the level of animality.

These reactionary tendencies are sharply noticeable in the literature of the day. The colossal phenomenon of the late D. H. Lawrence is a case in point. He glorified sex life into a dark god. It seemed he had broken with the intellect and proclaimed instinctive action to take its place. If Jabali in Ramayana counselled us to a course of "Eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die", and Omar Khayyam urged us to drown our miseries in a strong cup of wine, D. H. Lawrence went further and intenser : to him sex was the key to the mysteries that are, and the Dark God his imagination saw was visible only to him who killed the beast of intellectualism and revelled in the tingling experiences of sex. Many other novelists of to-day have also exploited Watson and Freud and proclaimed a revolt against the intellectualism of Wells, Shaw and Bennett. Mr. John Cowper Powys's *In Defence of Sensuality*, *Wolf Solent*, and *A Glastonbury Romance*, Mr. Wyndham Lewis's *Apes of God*, James Joyce's *Ulysses*

and similar significant contributions of the day emphasise the modernist's inordinate preoccupation with sex. Nor is poetry itself free from such influences. D. H. Lawrence wrote on 'Virgin Youth' :

Now and again
 The life that looks through my eyes
 And behaves like the rest of men
 Slips away, so I gasp in surprise.
 Then willy-nilly
 A lower me gets up and greets me
 Homunculus stirs from his roots.....
 Dark, ruddy pillar, forgive me ! I
 Am helplessly bound
 To the rock of virginity.

Other modernists can unblushingly write :

Darling, will you become a part
 Of my poor physiology ?
 And, my beloved, may I have
 The latch-key of your history ?

or :

Diaphenia, drunk with sleep,
 Drunk with pleasure, drunk with fatigue,
 Feels her Corydon's fingers creep—
 Ring-finger, middle-finger, index, thumb—
 Strummingly over the smooth sleek drum
 Of her thorax.

No wonder therefore that Mr. J. B. Priestley, voicing the opinion of the average man, told the intellectualist or sensualist 'highbrow' : "you worship two kinds of authors, both equally unbalanced. Either they are authors entirely without feeling, who write about human life as an educated wolf might be expected to write about it. Or they are authors who are simply emotional lunatics, flopping about in life like tearful seals. You....suggest that genius is simply a frantic want of balance. A good author, in your view, is a man or woman who happens to have less sense and more neuroses than other people."

But it may be asked if the alternative to sheer intellectualism is only sheer animality. Must we really make up our minds between Wells and Shaw on the one hand and Lewis and Joyce on the other ? The simple way out of the dilemma is acceptance of the third way of knowledge, Intuition. Intuitive knowledge transcends others inasmuch as it carries with it final affirmation and self-evidence. It is to little purpose that the expert tells us that intuition works through the cerebral cortex. Even definitions of Intuition are mostly unsatis-

fying. Perhaps this by Mr. Dibblee in his *Instinct and Intuition : A study in Mental Duality* is as good as any that has been suggested : "Intuition can be defined as a mode of intelligence unconsciously exercised by man only among animals. Its nature cannot be ascertained by introspection nor by examination of its processes, which are, in their earlier, longer and more important stages, wholly extra-conscious. From its very brief later stages it may certainly be pronounced to be solely a mental operation in a sense in which perhaps instinct with its close affective relations may not be. In both stages our knowledge of intuition must chiefly be obtained from its results, which are presented like those of instinct in a complete form to consciousness." Slightly to be preferred to the above negative statement is the positive affirmation of Professor S. Radhakrishnan in his *An Idealist View of Life* : "Intuitive knowledge is not non-rational ; it is only non-conceptual. It is rational intuition in which both immediacy and mediacy are comprehended. As a matter of fact, we have throughout life, the intuitive and intellectual sides at work..... Intuition is neither abstract thought and analysis nor formless darkness and primitive sentience. It is wisdom, the *noos* of which Aristotle speaks, the all-pervading intelligence of Dante." Though to distinguish in terms of language between intellect and intuition may be very risky, one can apprehend the difference easily enough. Intellect is ever a kind of judge ; it is external to the thing it tries to evaluate. But there are experiences and phenomena from which we cannot cleverly dissociate ourselves. In such instances to adopt the intellectual line of approach is to vitiate the judgment. One is the judge and the accused and the plaintiff at the same time. That is how one very often goes wrong in his judgment of things and persons he is vitally connected with, though the person may be equipped with an ample measure of critical intelligence. On the other hand, the intuitive seer in a flash knows the truth, though he may be quite unable to express his conclusion in the pattern of a syllogism. To dismiss such knowledge as a freak of nature or as irrational is not the correct thing to do. Not to be able to do a thing ourselves is no reason at all to deny that others, more gifted than we, can do it. In current literature Intuition too has come to claim a place. Mrs. Virginia Woolf's fourth dimensional world, the intuitional approach revealed in Mr. Middleton Murry's *God, an Introduction to the Science of Metabiology* and *Life of Jesus*, and Mr. T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* are the first streaks that herald the dawn of a new era in literature.

Let us begin with one or two simple manifestations of intuitive knowledge. We have often noticed that two people who have seen very little of each other nevertheless develop a great attachment, not generally to be achieved even by years of mutual trust and assistance.

Call it love or friendship, it is immaterial ; define friendship with Mr. Richard Aldington as an absolute attachment to another untinged by sexual desire and define love with Miss Rebecca West as "all that which leads through personal relationship to the perpetuation of the agreeable in life and the frustration of the harsh." However you call it or define it, here you have a phenomenon you cannot intellectually explain. To the lover or friend himself, however, it will be a very different matter. His love or friendship will be a new knowledge to him, which to dissect with intellectual scissors were a superfluity and a sin. He will be ineffably happy in the knowledge of his love or friendship and will just pity those who would ridicule its efficiency or reality. He has arrived at this state of exalted friendship or love by an effort of transcending the cramping bars of intellectualism and catching a glimpse of the infinity that dazzles him with the glow of an indescribable love. It is in the light of such an explanation that the love of a Catherine for a Heathcliff in *Wuthering Heights* is at all intelligible. What, again, is a volume of poetry to the true student of letters ? Why are words in certain combinations more amazingly evocative than almost "a winged charge of the quadrions of the spirit ?" There is on my table as I write a bulky edition of Shakespeare's plays and there is also an equally bulky Indian Post Offices Guide. They are the same practically, because of their bulk, to my servant who does not understand English. They are the same too to the hard-headed Physicist who equates each of them with so many million billion electrons, protons, neutrons and positrons, desperately impinging in all directions a countless number of times. But to one who has read Shakespeare and lost himself for hours in the enchantment of his poetry, the two volumes side by side evoke very different emotions. Can Mathematics give form to this divergence of attitude with however complicated a differential ? The volume may be only tatters and twine and leather and letters, and yet to me it would hold a great secret, to unravel which once again I must be willing to go any length. The book will be to me nothing less than a treasure of knowledge, the intangible outcome of the poet's own experiences. Reading for the hundredth time the familiar passages or recapitulating their ideas and their ryhthms, I will see the poet's experiences mapped out before me and it will be as though I live them myself. A single simple sentence like "The rest is silence" or "visit dolphin coral in deep seas" or "one might almost say her body thought" will seem to carry a high potential of suggestion that the enraptured student will be willing to pass (in Mr. Strachey's words) long hours of delicious gustation, whole days of animated and exquisite worship. He will have learnt to withdraw from himself and feel part of something grander than we have ever

known. Such a clear intimation into an other-worldliness every student of literature gets ; else must we despair of his literary sense. The great masterpieces of the world,—*The Iliad*, *Sakuntala*, *Hamlet*, *Faust*, *When We Dead Awaken*, *Crime and Punishment*, *The Magic Mountain*—they all unfailingly transport the authentic devotee of letters into the regions of the Infinite.

I should allude at this stage to some characters in literature who have won their peculiar glory by their faculty divine of intuition. In the great novels of Feydor Dostoevsky, the antithesis between instinct and intellect and again between intellect and intuition is brought out with singular power and artistry. The hero of *Crime and Punishment*, Raskolnikoff, is a famous example of a man undone by the very extremity of his fierce intellectualism. Raskolnikoff has no intellectual difficulty in persuading himself that cold-blooded murder itself can be a piece of public and moral good. On the contrary, the central figure of *The Idiot*, Prince Myshkin, despite his failure to come up generally to our superior intellectual standards, shines throughout as a star of the first magnitude, and what sustains him in his nobility and spirituality is his intuition into the good and the true. And in the last and greatest of his novels, *The Brothers Karamasov*, instinct, intellect and intuition are respectively typified in the three brothers, Mitya, Ivan and Alyosha, and the interactions between them and their comparative utilities or futilities come to us and convince us. Alyosha, innocent and seeing all and succeeding in all intuitively, Mitya, incessantly blundering and living a passionately sensual life of mere instinct, and Ivan, intellectually correct and morally bankrupt,—the creation of these character contrasts is an artistic homage to the supremacy of intuition in its capacity to sense the truth of things. Coming nearer home, I find in the two novels of my friend Mr. K. S. Venkataramani of Madras the same just appraisement of the relative importance of intellect and intuition. They too convince us of the quiet certainty of the man who relies on intuitive knowledge and the suspended, rickety brilliance of the mere intellectual. As for Bernard Shaw's characters, they are not even intellectuals but competent puppets ; they are just able megaphones to broadcast their author's views. Hence his Superman and Magnus and Napolean amuse us, but do not disturb us ; we have no feeling as of strange, still depths, vague, queer, surmisings. We seem to know it all the while for a put-up job. We have but to compare with his rows of wax-work figures in muslin and steel the vast potentialities of the few characters in the plays of his great countryman, the late J. M. Synge. Maurya and the Playboy of the Western World talk in whispers and mutter inconsequent misgivings and childish prognostications. And yet how they seem to rock the visible

universe as they speak the words ! Those words seem to mean vastly more than what actually meets the ear. Thundering crashes relentlessly swish past us and we are left gaping at the half-peep into a vague mystery that possesses us and would leave us never. One human touch of a real poet like Synge makes the whole world kin. The explanation is that Synge intuitively grasped the essentials of a human situation, and what he saw being the truth, or some aspects of the truth, in his artistic presentation of it made us respond uniquely, as the stretched piece of elastic string vibrates in unison with the tuning fork at a distance.

Unerring as is the intuitive knowledge of the poet, the medium in which he expresses the knowledge he has made a part of himself preserves an underlying norm in all literatures. Lesser, egoistic or self-conscious writers like Macaulay, Carlyle or Chesterton have a distinctive personality and a distinctive style in literary expression. A paradox is the artificiality on which Mr. Chesterton needs must feed : "It is only when we see a thing for the hundredth time that we see it for the first time." "Men are progressive because they are a little behind the times." Such sentences are pert and clever and even in a sense true. But there is another style in which the author, far from parading his personality, completely effaces it. He applies to his own artistic purpose the Biblical saying, who would gain his soul must first lose it. He achieves a glory of expression that makes poetry be, in M. Abbe Bremond's words, a mystic incantation allied to prayer. One finds that a personal emotion or sentiment is intuitively transported into the universal, and a trick of arranging a few English words becomes a marvel in the realm of sheer language, not restrictively English, or Tamil, or Sanskrit. It becomes a symbol of the eternal and the perfect before which criticism is dumb and annotation a sacrilege. When Shakespeare says in *Othello* :

Not poppy nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world
Shall ever medicine thee to the sweet sleep
Thou owed'st yesterday :

or in *The Tempest* :

We are such stuff
As dreams are made on : and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep ;

or in *Measure for Measure* :

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where,
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot ;
This sensible and warm motion to become

A kneaded clod ; and to the delighted spirit
 To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
 In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice ;

or in *Macbeth* :

No, this my hand will rather
 The multitudinous seas incarnadine
 Making the green one red ;

or when Shelley writes :

The splendours of the firmament of time
 May be eclipsed but are extinguished not ;

we all know that we are in the presence of language that has achieved impersonality without diminishing one jot of the emotional pitch that is part of all subjective writing. In all merely competent poetry, even very good poetry, we meet with in abundance the apt phrase, the delicate epithet. For instance in the following lines of Gerald Manly Hopkins :

Hope had grown grey hairs,
 Hope had mourning on,
 Trenched with ears, carved with cares,
 Hope was twelve hours gone ;

and these from W. Gibson :

Snug in my easy chair,
 I stirred the fire to flame,
 Fantastically fair,
 The flickering fancies came,
 Born of heart's desire :
 Amber woodland streaming :
 Topaz islands dreaming ;
 Sunset-cities gleaming,
 Spire on burning spire ;

or these unforgettable lines from "The Caves" by John Freeman :

Into every hollow cliff of life,.....
 The unresisting tide has run and the dark filled
 The wave returning bears
 Muted those time-breathing airs.
 —How shall the million-footed tide still tread
 These hollows and in each cold void cave spread ?
 How shall Love here keep
 Eternal motion grave and deep ?

while we are thrilled and delighted beyond measure, what in vain we look for is the inevitability and finality of wording which marks

and seals the greatest poetry. We cannot help feeling that "the same skilful hand which wove them might again unweave them, changing here a word, there a rhythm, and represent them wearing another, but not a lesser, charm." But it is far otherwise with the passages from Shakespeare and Shelley quoted above which seem to have got permanently out of their makers' hands and which for the poets, as for the reader or critic, it would be infamy to touch. Such is the underlying norm in great poetry that can be sensed by intuition alone, as it is itself the creation of intuition.

As with all great literature, so with the other Arts. A poem, a symphony, a picture by Rembrandt, the Taj Mahal : they are not luxuries to the human soul, but necessities. Each of them is an eloquent synthesis of the stray facts of our experience. As the American philosopher, George Santayana, has expressed it : "It might be said of every work of art and of every natural object, that it could be made the starting point for a chain of inferences that should reveal the whole universe." Carlyle indeed equates Art with Fact : "Genuine 'Art' in all times is a higher synonym for God Almighty's Facts—which come to us direct from Heaven, but in so abstruse a condition, and cannot be read at all, till the better intellect interpret them. all real 'Art' is definable as Fact, or say as the disimprisoned 'Soul of Fact' ; that any other kind of Art, Poetry or High Art is quite idle in comparison." The value of such creative art depends "on the intense expression of a moment's experience, a sudden sense of ecstasy." It should be warned, however, that an individual's reaction to a work of art depends upon his own mental make-up. What he receives is directly related to what he is willing to surrender. In Dr. J. H. Cousins's words : "All art is the imposition of something 'beyond' on the materials in which the artist works, and through which (as a channel, not a cul-de-sac) he conveys his own thoughts and feelings to others capable of responding to them : and the measure and quality of the response is in accordance with the mental and emotional equipment of the spectator, and is not a mere subjective reaction to the form or appearance of the stark image." Only one in a hundred can penetrate into the spiritual mystery behind the material facts. Walter Pater saw in Botticelli's *Madonnas* and the *Birth of Venus* and in Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated *Mona Lisa* a universe of suggestion that probably the artists themselves had not quite apprehended. Nor is Pater merely perverse or fanciful. Art in its totality has a unity demonstrable by intuition, because Art is but an expression of the underlying unity behind apparent diversity. To quote the apposite words of Mr. Theodore Spencer in the *Hound and Horn* : "At the bottom of all great poetry, as at the bottom of all human experience, lies the problem of the relation between the transi-

ent, expressed in innumerable ways, and regarded from innumerable angles. In mystical poetry, such as Dante's, the permanent is found and described as the centre of experience, for it is subject of both emotion and thought; in Shelley's poetry it is sought for by the mind, but found only temporarily, for it is discovered by the emotions alone; while in Shakespeare, though the sense of permanence is nearly always somewhere in the background, it is change, not permanence, the Many, not the One, that is emphasised, and passion, as in *Lear*, can play itself out in the dark." Only perfect Art (and where is absolute Perfection to be found?) can suggest the Unity of the Universe, and represent the Infinite; the greatest Art that we have for our worship—an *Iliad*, the Eighth Symphony of Beethoven, a picture by Raphael—can but offer momentary glimpses into these ultimates. Nonetheless there is nothing new in the province of Art. Everything was implicit in the beginning. A work of art that we call 'new' only makes us alter our reactions to all other existing Art; in other words, we cannot know or say what a work of Art precisely means, for it is itself in a state of flux and adjusts itself to the new conditions created by the 'arrival' of a 'new' work of Art. In the still level waters of a well the dropping of a pebble causes ripples and waves for a time, and then quiet reigns again. So it is with the well of Art. Art in its totality is the same and never changes; and the intuitive seer knows it. But to us is permitted at one time only the intimacy of some works of art, whose essentials we must integrate as accurately as possible into the reality of Art. A great poem like the *Divina Comedia* of Dante or a great play like *King Lear* require (Mr. R. L. Méroze has told us) for a proper evaluation the accumulated perceptions of several generations of readers. And with each new generation views modify, reputations explode and new harmonies and new beauties appear. The publication some years ago of Mr. Robert Bridges's *The Testament of Beauty*, Mr. Herbert Read's *Mutations of a Phoenix* and Mrs. Dorothy Richardson's novels centering round Miriam Henderson made the aesthetic critic ever so slightly revise his original reactions to the *Iliad*, the *Prelude*, *Tom Jones* and *Le Charterhouse de Parme*. Art thus to the wise student preserves its fundamental unity, notwithstanding the passage of centuries and the barriers of language and race. This intuitional study and actual experience of Art is therefore nothing less than a discipline in the cosmopolitanisation of the human soul. It is no ideal frenzy, perhaps, to look forward to a glamorous Future for Art, when it will attain a synthetic perfection and truly reveal the undifferentiated unity of the real and the satisfying image of the possible; when, in other words, Art will conform to the rich vision of Shelley in *Prometheus Unbound*;

the progeny immortal
 Of Painting, Sculpture, and rapt Poesy,
 And arts, though unimagined, yet to be.
 The wandering voices and the shadows these
 Of all that man becomes, the mediators
 Of that best worship, love, by him and us
 Given and returned ; swift shapes and sounds which grow
 More fair and soft as man grows wise and kind,
 And veil by veil evil and error fall.

We are now at the heart of the enquiry. From intuition as a more sudden and reliable kind of knowledge of men and things (Mr. Wildon Carr says : "The intuition is an activity that characterises. It gives us a knowledge of things in their concreteness and individuality") to intuition as the secret spur and sustaining impulse of Art (The philosopher Benedetto Croce thinks that intuition, unlike a pure sensation, is "at the same time expression. Whatever is not objectified in an expression is not intuition but sensation and animal nature)—we have travelled a wide enough field. We now take one last leap and equate intuition with the nerve-cell and germ-centre of all religious or mystical experiences. Some writers make religion itself one of the higher forms, even the highest form, of art : Mr. Jinarajadasa asserts that "if you approach any religion from the proper spirit, it expresses to you some of the highest forms of synthesis of your intellectual and emotional nature." Dr. Cousins goes even further in his interpretation of the Indian attitude to Art and Religion : "Art, to the Indian mind, is not art merely ; it is unintelligible save in the light of philosophy, and unmoving save with the warmth of religion ; it is therefore at once expressional as art, impersonal as philosophy, and personal as religion." In an epic like the *Ramayana*, a poem like *Hamsasandesa*, in the architecture of the best Indian temples, it is well nigh impossible a task to dissociate the elements of art, philosophy and religion. The mystical poetry of India too baffles us similarly : Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*, the hymns of the Tamil Alwars and Samayacharyas, the ecstatic stotras of Sankara, Ramanuja and Venkatanath, all are an incredible fusion of poetry, philosophy and religion. Speaking of the world mystics generally we might say that the intuitional urge, while it is the same whether it manifests in a Tayumanavar or a Jesus Christ or a William Blake, has local warpings caused by the personality or circumstances of the man, and one is a poet, another a mystic and a third a prophet. It is quite possible that under different circumstances Shakespeare might have developed into a St. Thomas Aquinas and Sankara might have written the *Sakuntala*. We might hazard a sweeping generalisation, though, that the religious mystic's is the

purest and completest form of intuition, because in him intuition is most perfectly external to his earth crust. Mysticism, then, may be said to be the conclusion of man's spiritual urge and the emergence of his higher impersonal or cosmic personality.

It is at this stage superfluous to counter elaborately the rationalistic onslaughts against intuition and mysticism. It is simply gratuitous and cheap to say that the mystics are merely insane; luckily, the vast majority of mankind will always find more solace in the ecstasies of the mystics than the punctiliously correct theorems of the rationalists. Even Marius in Walter Pater's book, severe intellectual that he was, was attracted by the liturgical and ceremonial appeal of Christianity and wanted, in Mr. Eliot's words, "to get all the emotional kick out of Christianity without the bother of believing it." But the more sincere inquirer after truth can trace, step by step, the course of man's evolution from instinctive reactions to intuitive realizations, without a logical flaw. Granted that poetry and the other arts reveal a profounder level of reality than what Sir Arthur Eddington calls "the pointer readings of Physical science"—and this an hour's intimacy with abiding art will substantiate—it is only a logical step further to state that ineffable mystical experience must reveal the finality of whatever is. We need not here go into the question whether or not the intuitive activity of the mind in mysticism "is entirely free from, and independent of, any suggestion of intellectual activity." I should think a kind of sublimated intelligence plays a strictly subsidiary part during mystical experiences. M. Jaques Maritain says: "the word mysticism belongs strictly and primarily to the 'experimental knowledge of divine things obtained by the gift of Wisdom,' and more generally to the state of the man who lives habitually 'under the governance of the gifts of the Holy Spirit.' . . . The Mystic is beyond reason—because he is united to the source of reason, intelligence in him becomes the disciple of love—because, deprived on earth of the vision of God, charity alone can connaturalise us with divine things and so obtain for us a superrational knowledge of those things." Professor Radhakrishnan, however, states the character of mystical experience slightly differently: "Insight is truth-filled and truth-bearing. Santi or peace is a positive feeling of calm and confidence, joy and strength in the midst of outward pain and defeat, loss and frustration. . . . The experience is felt as of the nature of a discovery or revelation, not a mere conjecture or creation." However constituted its inner fabric be, mysticism is in all cases a unique and untranslatable self-experience of the all-embracing One in a brief, glorious period of the suspension of all material faculties. It is the spiritual triumph of

that blessed mood,
 In which the burthen of the mystery,
 In which the heavy and the weary weight
 Of all this unintelligible world,
 Is lightened :—that serene and blessed mood,
 In which the affections gently lead us on,
 Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
 And even the motion of our human blood
 Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
 In body, and become a living soul :
 While with an eye made quiet by the power
 Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
 We see into the life of things ;
 it is the vision that proclaims :

The One remains, the many change and pass ;
 Heaven's light forever shines, earth's shadows fly ;
 And life like a dome of many-coloured glass
 Stains the white radiance of eternity,
 Until Death tramples it into fragments ;

it is the same sense of ecstasy described by Thomas Traherne :

"I was entertained like an Angel with the works of God in their
 splendour and glory. I saw all in the peace of Eden ;
 Heaven and Earth did sing my Creator's praises.
 Eternity was manifest in the Light of the Day, and some-
 thing infinite beyond everything appeared ; which talked
 with my expectation and moved my desire ;"

it is even the incandescent basis of this passage from Mr. Eliot's well-known poem :

Eyes I dare not meet in dreams
 In death's dream kingdom
 These do not appear :
 There, the eyes are
 Sunlight on a broken column
 There, in a tree swinging
 And voices are
 In the wind's singing
 More distant and more solemn
 Than a fading star.
 Not that final meeting
 In the twilight kingdom.

The final self-experience and conviction of mysticism cannot *prima facie* refer to any half-hearted unity. The unity must transcend cleavages,—religious, philosophical or ethical : as Mr. Middleton Murry remarks : "The One of true Mysticism is not the Good, or the

True, or the Beautiful : it is the One. And in the One the Bad, the False and the Ugly exist no less than the Good, the True and the Beautiful. All alike, for true Mysticism, are in some sense appearance." The suggestive anecdote referring to the woman Sufist, Rabi'a, may be retailed in this connection : Rabi'a was one day seen running with a lighted torch and a bucket of water and was asked her errand when she quietly replied : "I am going to set fire to Paradise and to put out the fire of Hell so that both Veils may disappear from the pilgrims and their intentions may be pure and the servants of God may see Him without any object of hope or motive of fear." We are again familiar with Lord Krishna's affirmations in the 10th book of the *Bhagavad-Gita* :

"I am that which is the seed of all things in nature ; and there is not anything, whether animate or inanimate, that is without me. My divine distinctions are without end....."

Equally characteristic is the statement of the Tamil mystic poet, Tayumanavar :

"I cannot worship Thee, O God ! in any embodied form, for I see Thyself in the very flowers and seeing Thee there how could I pluck the dew-filled gems ; nor can I raise my hands for worshipping Thee. I feel ashamed to do so as Thou art within me all the while."

The following lines from Ni'matu'llah of Kisman (Mr. E. G. Browne's translation) strike the same note :

King and beggar are one, are one : foodless and food are one, are one.

We are stricken with grief and drain the dregs ; dregs and sorrow and cure are one.

In all the world there is naught but one ; talk not of 'Two', for God is One ;

Mirrors a hundred thousand I see, but the face of that Giver of Life is One.

We are plagued with the plague of one tall and fair, but we the plagued and the plague are one.

Drop, wave and sea, and the elements four without a doubt in our eyes are one ;

and these lines of Jalalu'ddin Rumi :

I am the theft of the rogues, I am the pain of the sick,

I am both cloud and rain, I have rained in the meadows :

and these of Jiji (Prof. Nicholson's translation) :

I am the existent and the non-existent, and the naughted and the everlasting.

I am the avowed and the imagined and the snake and the charmer.

I am the loosed and the bound, and the wine and the cup-bearer.
 I am the treasure, I am poverty, I am my creatures and my
 Creator ;

and the no less powerful words of Baba Kuhí (Prof. Nicholson's translation) :

Neither soul nor body, accident nor substance,
 Qualities nor causes—only God I saw.
 Like a candle I was melting in His fire
 Amidst the flames outflashing—only God I saw,
 I passed away into nothingness, I vanished,
 And lo, I was the All-Living,—only God I saw.

Lastly, the words of the Christian mystic, St. Catherine of Genoa,—"My Me is God, nor do I recognize any other Me except my God himself"—fundamentally carry the same import. Such religious affirmations can be multiplied from the literature of all countries and they all have such close identity in cast and subject matter that they ought to be accepted as providing lesser mortals with an experimental verification of the existence of God.

What is so striking about intuitional experiences is their agreement on major issues. The artists are our great witnesses to the Beauty and Order of the universe; similarly, the mystics see the other-world of order and unity and transmit the truth to us. But since mystical experiences, being by their own nature very intense, do not easily allow themselves to be expressed with lucid clarity by language. Words perforce become symbolic and in our interpretation of those words we are led often to wrangle. Only we have to remember : "intuitions abide, while interpretations change. *Sruti* and *smṛiti* differ as the authority of fact and the authority of interpretation." If like Mr. Edward Watkin we distinguish between the primary and directly internal interpretations of mystical experiences and the secondary interpretations that "relate them to a total world view," we find, surprisingly enough, of all religious experience, that "with one voice in every place and in every epoch it proclaims the Being, Presence and Operation of God." Thus while we find an utter similarity of content in the outpourings of practically all the great mystics of the world, we do find differences in the intellectual commentaries tacked on to them afterwards, either by the mystics themselves in a rational mood or by their followers. That accounts for the various systems of philosophy,—even under the head of Monism itself. Granted the larger issue that mysticism achieves the Unity in the universe already intellectually postulated (but not proved) by being the Unity and knowing the diversity for naught, the question arises :

does the mystic's realisation represent the culmination of a laborious process of becoming, or is it simply one more intuitive affirmation of a realisation or realised unity that has always existed—to everybody and not alone to the mystic? Or as stated by Professor A. E. Taylor: "Is the divine and eternal simply transcendent, simply 'other than' the temporal, or does it at once transcend the temporal and interpenetrate it? the issue is whether the true good of man is to be found simply in filling his place in the temporal order, or in rising through it to an eternal level of being?" Proto-types of such differences in interpretations of mystical experience we find in all religions. If the Christian mystic St. John of the Cross and the Moslem mystic al-Hallaj looked upon mystical experience as being in the nature of a transformation or assimilation of the individual soul to God, the Sufist mystics like Attar, Jalsu'ddin, Ibnu'l 'Arabi and Ibnu'l Farid name their doctrine Unitarian Gnosis and think of the mystical experience as "simply the affirmation of a unity which has always been, and which will always be, a naked identity of pure being with itself. It leads not to the transfiguration of the soul, but to its disintegration and annihilation. The same vision which unites the soul with God unites it with everything else and all distinctions vanish in an iridescent mist." (The words are Mr. Christopher Hollis's). These interpretative differentiations notwithstanding, knowledge that is derived mystically can never be wrong. It is knowledge at first hand, knowledge acquired by being the thing that is sought to be comprehended. Just as an apple is tasted that its taste may be known, the mystic by an intuitional effort lives the Reality he would know; for the time being, while yet in the grip of the mystical experience, he is the reality and knows that the One is the reality, not the things he hears and sees at other times. Such knowledge at first hand is impossible to the mere intellectual; for, intellectual appraisement necessitates separation from the thing to be appraised, and being oneself part and parcel of the Reality, such separation cannot be. That is why all intellectual attempts to gauge the mystery of the universe have failed to give results. Archimedes said that he could lift the world with a lever if only he could secure a place of support outside. There exactly is the rub: he must get outside to perform his operation and that he knew was impossible. Even thus all attempts at intellectual cognition of the unity of the universe can be no more than a hypothesis. The intuitional experience, on the contrary, by dissolving the individual's identity, enables the mystic to be the *One*. When the trance is over, the mystic awakens as from a deep dream of peace, and is thereafter an entirely new man. The conscious, isolated personality of his is now transmuted into the impersonal cosmic personality that is at once indivi-

dual and is in the knowledge of its inherent universality. An analogy is to be found in the phenomenon of crystallisation. The crude Copper Sulphate that we first dissolve in water loses, in appearance, all its former solidity and individuality. When the solution cools and Copper Sulphate crystals begin to form and grow to beautiful proportions, we have the same old substance that is yet beautified and purified. So also is it with the person who has gone through the mystical experience and has gained the conviction of the all-pervading and all-embracing One.

It is not every one of us who can hope to transmute our intellectual faculties into mystic apprehensions of the soul or intuitions of the self. The unconscious sublimation of the impertinences of our intellect and instinct so that we could gather the universe into us and ourselves into the universe and thus know the identity between the invisible atom and the stunning vastnesses of astronomical space, though we may not achieve it, or even be sanguine of achieving it, it is upto every one of us at least to know that such great things have been and are possible again. Such living faith in the possibility of knowledge of the Ultimates through the paths of intuition, art and mysticism is in itself half a solution of our problems. Of course, to every searcher after truth the stage of intellectualism is well nigh unescapable ; only, it is to be known for a milestone on the road, not the destination itself. Fully armed with the uses of the intellect, man marches forward. What I have been at pains to criticise is not intellect itself but the attitude that makes sheer, mere and cut-and-dart intellectualism the absolute summit of knowledge. Such an attitude, if it is a symbol of modernity and elegance, is also the symbol of anarchy and suicide. The intellectuals must have the sense to see, (in Mr. Chesterton's uncompromising words), "that the half-truths of the skeptic are not only edged tools, but double-edged tools. They cut the ground from under rationalism as well as from under religion ; they can be used to wound democracy as easily as despotism ; in the last resort, they can inoculate the mind with doubts about doubt itself." Thus, intellectualism as it is manifested in the Bright Young Men of all times, is "a beautiful, ineffectual angel (to quote the felicitous language of Matthew Arnold on another occasion) beating in the void its luminous wings in vain." In a word, mere intellectualism leads one nowhere ; and to realize this is to have an unflinching perception of the futilities of the purely intellectualist way of life. On the other hand, the paths of intuition, art and mysticism are there, running in a common avenue, blessed by the poets and seers before us, and sanctioned by results. For the realization of the good and the true and the oneness of purpose in life, one can do nothing wiser than to cultivate a living faith in the reality of

intuitive knowledge and the way of art and mysticism : to know with Wordsworth—

To every form and being is assigned
 An active principle ;—however removed
 From sense and observation, it subsists
 In all things, in all natures ; in the stars
 Of azure heaven, the unenduring clouds,
 In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
 That paves the brooks, the stationary rocks,
 The moving water and the invisible air,
 Unfolded still the more, more visible,
 The more we know :

and to learn to feel with Goethe—

One impulse throughout the infinite
 Ceaslessly ebbs and flows,
 The myriad lines of the mighty heavens
 One another enclose.
 From all things, giant star and star dust,
 Streams out the joy of life,
 And the peace of God the Lord is lying
 At the heart of all strife.

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

HYMNS IN PRAKRIT

Jain writers have written a considerable amount of hymns or Stotras of no small merit. As in other departments of literary writings, they have tried to vie with Brahmanic poets in composing hymns of devotion, and have vied with considerable success. Ever since the days of Rigveda, the production of hymns addressed to various gods was continued by Indian poets, and this activity has resulted into a vast amount of hymnal literature of no mean value. In its long and eventful career, however, many changes were effected both in the subject-matter of these Stotras and in the spirit of devotion underlying them. To the gods like Varuna, Sūrya, Indra and Visnu, new gods like Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, and Durgā, were added, either taken over from the gods of the original inhabitants of India, or from local deities of various places, claiming greater attention. The Jain writers also offered panegyrics to the prophets of their own religion, who soon acquired a position of gods to whom prayers and worship can be offered, and still later, their immediate disciples like Gotama and others acquired their own share of praise.

But along with this widening of the subject-matter of these hymns, a similar change came over the spirit underlying them. The naive simplicity and the matter-of-fact dealings of the Vedic poets gave place to a more and more spiritual and devotional sentiment, in which the poet raised the object of his devotion to a higher plane and lowered himself down to a great extent, a fact aided by the new theory of Bhakti or devotion. Similarly while praising the gods of one's religion the poet passed with imperceptible steps to the principles of his creed, and so the more philosophical and logical hymns were produced. And when once the fact that a short hymn can be used to express in a succinct form a particular dogma or a few outstanding ethical principles in a charming and attractive manner was realised, the hymns began to draw their subject-matter from all the varied departments of knowledge from great philosophical problems to a list of mythological personages.

The best part of this hymnal literature of Jains is no doubt to be found in Sanskrit, but a good deal of it is also to be met with in Prakrit languages. Even though Sanskrit on account of its greater popularity and circulation enforced itself on the heterodox religions, and soon became the sole vehicle of expression, Prakrit was still

continued for writing hymns and other works by the Jain writers for a long time, and this activity has produced many Stotras worth attention.

The oldest of these Prakrit Stotras is undoubtedly the Uvasagghara-Stotra attributed to the high priest Bhadrabāhu. Bhadrabāhu, we know, was a great pontiff of the undivided Jain community, and lived at the time of Candragupta the Maurya. One of the traditions says that he migrated to the south to avoid the great famine that overtook the country of Magadha at his time, and died in the country of Mysore, while another of them makes him retire to the country of Nepal, at the time of his death. The attribution of the present Stotra to this sage is, however, not very accurate. But there is also nothing to state against it except the fact that the language of the hymn is much modern and certainly later than that of the Nirvuktis. This short Stotra contains barely five stanzas in Gāthā meter, praising and eulogising the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara Pārvīva, mainly pointing out his characteristics of helping others and rescuing his devotees from distress and difficulties. This fact probably led to the magical use to which this hymn is put by later writers, and a commentary on it tries to interpret it in the spirit of a spell to be used against many a calamity of various kinds like snake-bite and others. The name of the hymn is also obviously derived from the beginning words, a device used very much by the Jain writers in naming their hymns.

Of a similar nature appears to be the Bhayahara Stotra of the celebrated poet Mānatunga whose other Sanskrit hymn the Bhaktāmara-Stotra is much more popular and certainly the better of the two. Both the sects of the Jain community claim him as belonging to their creed, and his Sanskrit hymn is commented upon by the writers of both the sects. According to a very widespread tradition, he was a contemporary of the two famous poets Bāṇa and Mayūra, and composed his hymn to show the great supernatural power of his deity. But it is doubtful whether he is to be put so early. Jocobi's conjecture that Siddhasena wrote his Kalyāṇamandira-Stotra on the model of this hymn has nothing to recommend it, while it is just possible that Mānatunga comes later than this celebrated logician, and may have lived about the 8th or 9th century. His Bhayahara is also addressed to Pārvīva who appears to be the most favourite of the Tīrthaṅkaras to receive praise. Another of his hymn is called the Parameṣṭhi-Stavanam and contains only 35 Gāthās.

Nandīṣeṇa appears to be also a very old writer. Winternitz would place him as early as the 8th or 9th century. At any rate he is earlier than Jinaprabha (12th century), who calls him a very

old and celebrated poet and considerably earlier than him. Tradition would make him a direct disciple of Lord Mahāvīra himself, a fact scarcely to be believed. His poem called Ajitaśanti-Stava is a hymn of praise addressed to the two Tirthankaras Ajita and Śanti, and contains in its present form 40 verses, but which originally contained according to the opinion of his commentator, only 37 stanzas. Tradition further tells us that, while the poet was on his way to the pilgrimage of the mount Śatruñjaya where both these Tirthankaras spent their rainy season, he conceived the idea of composing the present hymn addressed to these prophets.

We are more fortunate in knowing something of Dhanapāla the author of the Prakrit hymn Rṣabhapaṭīcālikā. Originally a Brahmin by birth, he was converted to the Jain faith by his brother Sōbhana who is famous for his Sanskrit hymn in a very ornamental and scholarly style. Dhanapāla's father was Sarvadeva. Dhanapāla appears to have been patronised by the two kings of Dhārā Siyaka and Vākpati, even though Merutunga relates in his Prabandhacintāmaṇi another tradition which makes him a contemporary of Bhoja-deva, the famous king of Dhārā and adds something about his family relations, about his quarrel with his brother and the final reconciliation. From the conclusion of his Prakrit lexicon Pāśalacchināmāṇalā we know that he lived and wrote that work for his sister Sundari about A.D. 972-73. Afterwards he was converted to Jainism and then composed his hymn to show his respect for his newly adopted faith.

The best of Dhanapāla's hymns is undoubtedly the 50 stanzas in honour of Rṣabha the first prophet of Jainism. It is composed in Gāthās and describes in its first part (Gāthās 1-20) some important incidents in the life of Rṣabha, like his birth in the house of Nābhi, his ceremonial bath on the mount Aṣṭāpada, his promulgation of the various arts and crafts, his bountiful gifts, his Dikṣā ceremony, his subduing the non-Aryan tribes, his obtaining the omniscience, and things like the Samavasarana which is in fact a general theoretical outline of the life of most of the Tirthankaras. In the second part of the last 30 verses the author has greater freedom of thought in describing the greatness of his religious teacher and shows great poetic skill in depicting it. He points out that Rṣabha conquered Madana, which is a clear indication of his greatness over Brahmanic gods like Hara and Hari, and his help to his followers to get final emancipation. In verse 37 we find a fine poetic idea based upon the two meanings of the word Payattha which means both the principles of Jainism and ordinary objects. He also exhibits his poetic ability in many other ways and uses many a poetic figure. The language

of the hymn is also no doubt Jain Māhārāṣṭri but here and there a few Deśi words like Laṭṭha and a few Apabhraṃśa forms like Pairī are also found. Moreover, the author's command over Sanskrit can be easily seen even in his Prakrit.

His other Prakrit hymns like the Vira-Stava in 30 Gāthās and another of the same name are not of great importance. The second is a curious attempt of using both Sanskrit and Prakrit in one and the same verse, in which the first line is in Sanskrit and the second in Prakrit. It contains some ten Gāthās, describing the heroic deeds of Mahāvira, like his removing the Meru mountain by the touch of his foot, defeating the gods who had come to test his powers, his great scholarship and the ridiculous position of his teacher and many others. But the hymn has no other merit nor any poetic quality that will charm our minds.

Abhayadeva who is famous for his Sanskrit commentaries on the 9 of the Āṅgas of the Ardha-Māgadhi canon, has also written a few Stotras. He was a pupil of the equally famous scholar Jineśvara, and his literary activity falls in the middle of the 11th century A.D. He was the son of Maheśvara and Dhanadevi both of them being residents of Dhārā. He is reported to have converted Śahkaradāsa a Brahmin teacher of the Paramara kings of Dhārā, in A.D. 1054. Besides his famous Apabhraṃśa hymn the Jayatihuyapa he has also written a Mahāvira-Stava in 22 Anusūbhis, giving the various qualities of Lord Mahāvira, in a purely dogmatic enumeration of his excellences which makes it dry and devoid of all poetic beauty and charm.

Next we come to the prolific and scholarly writer Jinavallabha. His teacher was Vardhamāna, whom he succeeded on the chair of the pontiff, and died in A.D. 1110. He lived at Cītrakūṭa and was helped by his friend Devabhadra in his work. Among the great number of his works he has composed a number of hymns addressed to the various Tīrthaṅkaras. His Pārvīnātha-Stava is composed in 22 Gāthās. Therein he praises the ability and readiness of Pārvī to render service to all people in troubles, and in giving the desired objects of his devotees. The hymn shows a fine use of the power of alliteration and beautiful poetic ideas, while the language is elegant and simple. (Vs 8, 17). Another of his hymns is the Pañca-Kalyāṇajina-Stotra also called Caturvīrhasatijina-Stava in 26 Gāthās, and is much inferior to his previous song. It describes the various characteristics of the 24 Jinas in the usual enumerative fashion. His Vira-Stava is composed in 44 Mālinī verses and is tolerably good. In his Ullāsikamma-Stava he praises the two Jinas Ajita and Śānti.

One of the famous pupils of Hemacandra is Rāmacandra who succeeded him and met a cruel death at the hands of the successor

of king Kumārapāla. Rāmacandra is more famous for his Sanskrit dramas and dramatic theory, while many of his hymns are in Sanskrit. The only hymn of his in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit is the Ādideva-Stava a small piece of 8 Gāthās and not a great production.

Dharmaghoṣa is chiefly famous for his many hymns. He belonged to the Tapāgaccha; Devendra was his teacher and Vidyā-nanda one of his co-students. He often calls himself by his other name Dharmakirti, often occurring at the end of his poems. He became Upādhyāya in A.D. 1263, Sūri in A.D. 1271, and died in A.D. 1300, enjoying a long life.

His chief work is no doubt the R̄ṣimandala-Stotra which is not exactly a hymn but rather *approaches* a chronicle or a Paṭṭāvali. It purports to give the praise of the various sages who obtained liberation or various heavens, as the result of accepting asceticism and the life of a monk at the hands of the various Tīrthaṇikaras. The scope of the work is very wide. The author gives the various sages that were converted to Jainism by R̄ṣabha and others, the contemporary monks of Ajita, Sāgara, Malli and the vast number of the pupils of Mahāvīra. Much of his information he draws from the canonical books like Nāyādharmāmukhāhāo, Viśhapaṇṇatti and others, while the successors of Mahāvīra upto Devardhigani and Muni-vṛṣabha he draws from the Kalpasūtra and the Nandi-Sūtra-Paṭṭāvali. In the verses of praise of these various sages the author gives suggestions about their personal lives. He deals at great length with the lives of Sthūlabhadra and Vajrasvāmi the two patriarchs of great popularity. The language of the hymn is easy and the author describes the sages in as simple a manner as possible. But the vast amount of mythological allusions makes it a little difficult to follow them unless the reader is already familiar with them.

Other hymns of this author are of no great value. There is a short collection of Stotras called Jinastotrāṇi giving the various births of R̄ṣabha, Candraprabha, Śāntinātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha, Pārvīva and Mahāvīra, the Ajitasāṇīstava in 17 Gāthās and a host of others. The Paṭicavimētiṇipastavanam describes the 25 excellences of the preachings of the Tīrthaṇikara, while a panegyric is addressed to the present period of time in Duṣamākālasarhīstavanam.

More well-known as a scholar is Jinaprabha who calls himself a pupil of Jinasirīḥasūri, who lived at the beginning of the 14th century. His R̄ṣabhadevājñā-Stava in 11 Gāthās is a hymn which describes the importance of following the rules laid down by R̄ṣabha and its praise. More artistic and full of elaborate puns is his Pārśvanāṭhalagu-Stava in which Pārvīva is compared with the 9 different planets by the use of paranomastic adjectives, each verse thus

yielding two senses. His Gautama-Stotra bestows praise on the first Gaṇadhara while the Pañcaparameṣṭhi-Stava eulogises the five divinities so often praised in Jainism.

About Dharmānidhāna we know next to nothing. The concluding words of his hymn would make us believe that he was possibly one of the pupils of Udayaprabha and so lived in the 14th century. His hymn is called Caturvīṁśikāstavana having 27 verses in Sārdūlā-vikrīḍita metre and gives in a schematic form the lives of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras while at the end he collects together in 3 verses their emblems. On the whole the hymn shows no great merit. At about this period lived one Devendra who calls himself a pupil of Saṅghatilaka of the Rudrapalliyā Gaccha and wrote two hymns, one the Ādideva-Stava giving the praise of Rṣabha in 9 Gāthās and another called Sārvata-Caitya-Stava in 24 Gāthās.

Jinabhadrā, the author of the Dvādaśāṅgipadapramāṇakulaka is to be distinguished from the more famous and ancient Jinabhadrā, the celebrated author of the Viśeṣāvaśyakabhbāṣya. The present writer belonged to the Kharataragaccha and lived upto A.D. 1418. The hymn contains 21 Gāthās and is devoted to the description of the 12 Āṅgas including the 14 Pūrvas now lost to us. The information adds nothing to our knowledge of these works and he follows the tradition with strict adherence.

In the 15th century lived Somasundara a very famous and prolific writer in Jain literature. Besides commentaries and other independent works he has written five Stotras addressed to Rṣabha, Nemi, Śāntinātha, Pārēva and Mahāvīra. The chief characteristic of these short hymns is the variety of languages used therein, which are Sanskrit, Prākrit, Sauraseni, Māgarājī, Paiśaci, Cūlikā-Paiśaci and Apabhṛṣṭa, a feature found in many Jain Stotras and they show a considerable amount of metrical variety. A similar feat is performed by his pupil Ratnat Śekhara whose hymn Caturvīṁśatijina-Stavan in 24 Mālinī verses and one concluding Sārdūlā-vikrīḍita is composed in a manner so as to be considered written in either Sanskrit or Prākrit or Sauraseni, a fact which the Sanskrit rhetoricians call as Bhāṣāśleṣa. Another of his pupils Jinakirti wrote Namaskāra-Stavana in A.D. 1437 with a commentary on it.

A. M. GHATAGE.

SANADI LANDS

Government lands are all those unoccupied lands within the shore below high water mark declared to be the property of Government but subject always to the rights of way and all other rights of the public legally subsisting therein.

The disposal of these Government lands of foreshore rested with the Collector of Bombay subject to the sanction of the Government of Bombay in the early part of the 19th century. It was generally made by means of grants by Sanads on small rents, but reserving the rights of the Government to resumption of the lands whenever required for public purposes on six months' notice and on payment of compensation for the buildings erected and improvements made on them by the grantees. These Bombay Sanads which in Bombay mean a writing or a lease cover a period of 40 years from 1814 to 1854 during which 828 sanads all told were issued under the signatures of the Collector. They relate to portions of ground mostly in the New Town (*i.e.* Kamatipura) and were generally issued on the application of individuals for building sites. The origin of these Sanads appears to lie in the want of a clause in the receipts of the quit and ground rent land declaring the said lands to be resumable by the Hon'ble Company. They were mostly of three different types with the exception of some few special grants made for some specific purpose ; only two of these are now extant.

(1) Under the first of these types the grantee was a mere tenant at will at the mercy of the Government, as he was liable to be turned out at any moment at the sweet will and pleasure of the Government who reserved their right to resume the land granted at their pleasure. The Government also reserved their right to increase the rent from time to time which additional rent the grantee had to agree and was bound to pay. There was thus no security of tenure for the grantee. This first type of Sanad was in use from 1815 to 1823. The form in which this kind of Sanads was issued is set out in Appendix A hereto.

(2) The type of Sanad just described was modified by the Government in November, 1823, and provisions were made in the new Sanads which were in the form given in the Appendix B hereto which were great improvements over the rights which the grantee enjoyed

under the first type. No doubt the lands granted were subject to resumption by the Government but they were so resumable only on three conditions, *viz.*, (1) they were required for public purposes, (2) a six months' previous notice was required to be given of the intention of the Government for such resumption, and (3) lastly compensation was paid to the grantee by a just valuation of all the buildings erected and other improvements made thereon by the grantee which was to be determined by a committee appointed by the Government for the purpose. These provisions were thus certainly great improvements on the rights of the grantee possessed by him under the first kind of Sanads ; the grantee could thus get a more equitable return for the loss of his tenancy and occupancy and for the value of the buildings erected and improvements made thereon by him and could thus feel greater security in his tenancy than he could do in the grants of the first kind of Sanads. It must carefully be noted, however, that the grantee was in no sense the full and absolute owner of the lands in his occupancy. His rights fell far below those of the owner of freehold lands or even of the Fazendar. It would appear from the wording of the grant as if the assessment were fixed once for all and as if the Government were not entitled to increase the same. This type was in use until the issue of Sanads was countermanded by Government by their order dated the 24th July, 1844. Leases were then introduced and granted in their stead as the standing orders of the Government then were that no government land should be given except under leases for fixed terms of years.

We have seen that one of the conditions on which the lands were to be resumed by the Government was that the lands were required for public purposes. The question as to what is meant by the phrase "public purposes" used in this second kind of Sanad arose in the case of Hamabai Framji Petit vs. The Secretary of State for India, Moosa Haji Hassam vs. The Secretary of State for India, reported in (1911) 13 Bom. L. R. 1097.

This was a suit for ejectment in respect of a Lease granted on 18th April, 1854, by the East India Company to one Bachubai a predecessor-in-title of Hamabai the defendant of certain lands situate at Malabar Hill for the term of 99 years at the yearly rent of Rs. 11-2-3 renewable indefinitely on certain conditions. The Lease contained a clause that the company was to be entitled to resume the lands "for any public purposes". In 1906 the Government of Bombay gave notice to the defendant Hamabai that they were desirous of resuming possession of the said land for a public purpose,

viz., for the purpose of providing accommodation for Government officers and informed her that they would resume such possession on the 15th April, 1909. The defendant refused to deliver up possession. Thereupon the Government appointed a Committee for valuation of the buildings and the improvements on the land, tendered the amount of the valuation made by the Committee and demanded possession of the land from the defendant who refused to deliver it up. The Government thereupon filed a suit to eject her from the land. In her written statement the defendant alleged that the providing of accommodation for Government officers was "not a public purpose" within the meaning of the lease. The case was heard in the first instance by Beaman J. who decreed the plaintiff's suit and held that the purpose alleged, viz., of providing accommodation for Government officers was a public purpose and this decision was upheld by the Court of Appeal consisting of Chandavarkar and Bachelor JJ. Numerous English decisions were cited before and considered by the learned judges of the lower court and of the Court of Appeal, on the question of the construction of the words "public purpose" as used in the Statute of Elizabeth with reference to exemptions from rating. The learned judges came to the conclusion that those decisions afforded no help as to the proper construction to be put on the words of the contracts before them and this decision was upheld by their Lordships of the Privy Council on appeal who laid down that "a public purpose" was a purpose in which the general interest of the community was concerned and that the scheme for decision before them was one which would redound to public benefit by helping the Government to maintain the efficiency of its servants and was, therefore, "a public purpose" within the meaning of the contract contained in the lease. Cf. (1915) 39 Bom. 217 = (1915) 17 Bom. L. R. 100.

(3) The third type of the Sanad was only used in the case of the grants of lands in Colaba. These Colaba Sanads were 188 in number in all and were granted between the 1st May, 1815, and the 13th December, 1815. All of these were in time cancelled and the lands granted thereunder resumed in the years 1823 and 1866 when the limits of the Colaba Cantonments were extended. They were all in the form C given in the Appendix. It will be seen that even in the case of these Sanads the occupant of the land was a mere tenant at will paying an annual rent and that it gave the Government the further right to distrain for the rent in default of payment five days after the same became due and payable for the amount thereof with interest thereon from the due date in addition to the rights which the

Government possessed to resume the lands as in the case of the other two kinds of Sanads.

The Sanads in the Collector's Office are either copies or duplicates of the original grants. The copies or duplicates of the Sanads issued after 1st May 1815 have an endorsement made on them and signed by the grantees in the presence of witnesses to the effect that they agreed to the conditions mentioned in the grants and have received the originals thereof. No separate rent rolls explanatory of the exact nature of the Sanads were prepared, the lands having been entered into the rent rolls for the Quit and Ground rent lands and receipt bills issued under that tenure. It was not until 1903 that the long forgotten Sanads were brought to light. The discovery of a Sanad in the High Court Sult Hari Pandurang vs. The Secretary of State (1903) 27 Bom. 424 led to inquiries being made as to the existence of other Sanads. The Sanads were thereafter carefully indexed and in May 1904 Government offered the holders of Sanadi lands a more permanent tenure and tenancy of a 50 years lease, renewable for another 50 years. The rent for the first term of 50 years was to be 2 p.c. on the value of the land, in the case of the Sanads of the first type and one p.c. in that of the second and for the second term 4 p.c. in both cases. These orders were subsequently modified in April 1908 and again in 1908 by a further order of a conversion into Quit and Ground rent tenure on payment by the holder of a certain amount of produce or in the alternative an additional annual assessment representing 4 p.c. of this premium. The conversion of the lands of the Sanadi tenure into that of Quit and Ground rent tenure was effected by the issue of a conversion certificate by the Collector on behalf of the Government in the form given in Appendix D hereto.

The conversion is not yet complete and is still in progress.

About 24½ acres of Sanadi land with bungalows thereon situated on the Malabar Hill were resumed by Government under the provision for resumption contained in the Sanads for the accommodation of Government officers which was held to be a public purpose by the High Court at Bombay whose view, as we have seen, was confirmed by their Lordships of the Privy Council in the cases of Hamabai's and Moosa Haji Hassam [cf. 1915 39 Bom. 279, (1915) 17 Bom. L. R. 100].

We learn from Mr. Vaidya's book on Land Tenure (1931), Second Edition, Introduction, p. 115, that the area of lands under Sanads at the present day is about 90,000 sq. yds.

SUMMARY

To sum up it will be seen that the Sanadi lands of the first and third type (Colaba Sanads) granted under these two kinds of Sanads were merely leasehold, the tenancy in these cases being neither permanent nor for a fixed period but merely a tenancy at will both being resumable by the Government at their pleasure.

In the first type of Sanad the Government reserved a right to increase the rent, while in the third type the Government reserved a right to distrain for the rent in default of payment. It is not clear whether the Government had the right to increase the rent in this third type. It would seem as if they had not, if the document were strictly construed as it should and would be. In the second case the tenancy is not a mere tenancy at will. It would seem as it were a tenancy from year to year subject to six months' notice when the land is required for public purposes and payment of compensation for improvements effected by the occupant or rather the tenant on valuation made by a committee appointed by the Government. In the first and third cases there was practically no security of tenure or rather the tenancy as the lands were subject to resumption at the will of the Government. In the second case the tenure or rather the tenancy was of a more stable and permanent kind together with the additional advantage of getting an equitable and just return for the buildings erected and improvements if any made.

CONCLUSION

The nature of this tenure on the whole is easy of construction and easy to understand and thus accounts for the absence of any case-law on the subject. I might add that most of the materials for this article have been taken by me from the Gazetteer of the Bombay City and Island, Vol. II (1909) Edition 411 to 414. I am also indebted to Mr. Vaidya's said book for the purposes of this article.

RAMNIKLAL R. MODY.

Attorney-at-Law.

A

This is to certify that I
 Collector of the Honourable Company's rents and revenue of Bombay,
 in consequence of an order of Government dated
 have granted to a spot of vacant
 ground situated at containing square yards
 the said having agreed
 to pay rent at the rate of 11 reas per square yard amounting to

Rs. Qrs. reas annually to the Honourable Company and further has engaged to pay for the aforesaid spot of ground such additional rent as Government may from time to time think proper to fix and that it shall be optional with Government to resume the same at their pleasure.

Sd.

Bombay Collector's Office.

Date.

B

This is to certify that
 has the permission of Government to occupy the space in
 the New Town denoted by No. in the
 plan of the Revenue Survey containing square yards,
 upon payment into this office annually in the month of January at the
 rate of 11 reas the square yard, the said ground to be at any time
 resumable by Government for a public purpose, six months' notice
 being previously given and a just valuation of all buildings or other
 improvements thereon being paid the owner, the amount of which a
 Committee appointed by Government is in such case to determine.

Sd.

Collector.

Bombay Collector's Office.

Date.

C

This Indenture made the day of one thousand
 eight hundred and fifteen between the Hon'ble the United Company
 of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies on the one part
 and of Bombay Inhabitant
 on the other part, Witnesseth that for the consideration hereinafter
 mentioned the said United Company have and hereby do grant a piece
 or parcel of ground situated on the Island of Colaba and containing
 by admeasurement square yards
 more particularly described by a plan thereof deposited in the
 Collector's Office, To have and to hold the said piece or parcel of
 ground unto the said
 as Tenant-at-Will yielding and paying therefor yearly and every year
 unto the said United Company at the office of the Collector the clear
 yearly rent or sum of Rs. without any deduction or
 abatement thereout on any account whatsoever and it is hereby

agreed and declared that in case the said annual rent or sum of Rs. shall be behind and unpaid by the space of five days next after the time when the same shall become due and payable it shall be lawful to and for the said United Company to distrain for the same together with the amount of interest from the day on which the said rent becomes payable. In witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

Sealed and delivered in the presence
of

Sd.

94

51

Collector.

10

THIS INDENTURE made the day of 191
Between the Secretary of State for India in Council (hereinafter referred to as "the Secretary of State" which expression shall unless repugnant to the context include the said Secretary of State for India in Council and his successors and assigns) of the one part and

of Bombay Inhabitant

(hereinafter referred to as "the occupier" which expression shall unless repugnant to the context include the said and his heirs, executors, administrators and legal representatives and assigns) of the other part WHEREAS The Secretary of State is beneficial owner of the land and property described in the schedule hereunder written and delineated on the plan hereto annexed and shown in red colour therein AND WHEREAS the occupier holds of the Secretary of State or is tenant or in occupation of the said land and property described in the Schedule hereunder written and shown on the plan hereto annexed under the terms of a Sanad dated the

day of 18 AND WHEREAS
the Secretary of State has agreed with the occupier that henceforth
and from the date of these presents the said land and property de-
scribed in the Schedule hereunder written shall no longer be held of
him or tenanted or occupied by the occupier under the terms of the
said Sanad but shall be held or occupied by the occupier as land and
property of the Quit and Ground rent tenure in the Island of Bombay
NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that in pursuance of
the said agreement and in consideration of the sum of Rupees
paid by the occupier into the office of the Collector of Bombay on the

day of 19 (the receipt whereof
 is hereby admitted) and in consideration of the Quit and Ground
 Rent hereafter referred to and henceforth to be paid by the occupier
 the Secretary of State and the occupier do hereby agree that from
 the date of these presents the said land and property de-
 scribed in the Schedule hereunder written and shown on the plan
 hereto annexed is and shall subject to the provisions of the Bombay
 City Land Revenue Act II of 1876 as amended by Bombay Act III
 of 1900 or other law relating to the Land Revenue Administration of
 the City of Bombay for the time being in force be held of the Secre-
 tary of State by the occupier as land of and subject to the terms and
 conditions of the Quit and Ground Rent tenure in the Island of
 Bombay and that the terms of the said Sanad shall no longer affect
 or bind the said land and property AND the occupier doth covenant
 with the Secretary of State that the occupier will henceforth from
 and after the date of these presents yearly and every year on the

day of pay clear of all deductions

to the Secretary of State at the office of the Collector of Land Re-
 venue Bombay or at any other place for the time being duly ap-
 pointed for the payment thereof the Quit or Ground Rent of

Rupees in respect of the land and pro-
 perty described in the said Schedule hereunder written and also

will pay all existing and future taxes, rates, assessments and out-
 goings of every description for the time being payable either by
 landlord or tenant in respect of the same premises and anything
 for the time being thereon IN WITNESS Whereof the Honourable
 the Governor of Bombay in Council hath caused the Collector of
 Bombay to set his hand hereto on behalf of the said Secretary of
 State for India in Council and the said occupier hath hereto set his
 hand the day and year first before written.

Signed and delivered by

the Collector of Bombay in
 the presence of

Signed by

in the presence of

SCHEDULE.

All that piece or parcel of land (situate lying or being at without the Fort of Bombay in the Registration Sub-District of Bombay) containing by admeasurement square yards, assessed by the Collector of Land Revenue under Collector's Old No. Collector's New No. Old Survey No. and New Survey No. and bounded as follows:— on the North by on the South by on the East by and on the West by and formerly held under a Sanad dated Plan.

Reviews

The Origin and Development of Religion in Vedic Literature. By P. S. DESHMUKH, M.A., D. Phil. Pp. xvi + 378 ; price Rs. 15. Published by the Oxford University Press, 1933.

This book, which was originally submitted as a thesis for the Doctor's degree by the author and is foreworded by Prof. Keith, brings together in four parts very valuable information, critically and carefully presented, on the Indo-Europeans, the Indo-Iranians, the Vedic Indians and their Religions. The information, though not quite new, is admirably sifted and arranged, and original explanations are offered in many places. The last chapter on Brahmanism is entirely new and sums up in brief the religious and social conditions in ancient India during the period of the Brāhmaṇas, i.e., the period intervening between the Rgveda and the Upaniṣads. The author's discussion of the question regarding the part played by magic in the Indo-European religion and the nature of the Indo-European Sacrifice (chs. III and VI) reveals at once his close and careful study and his capacity to appraise and analyse all relevant evidence available on the subject. All students of Vedic religion will surely feel indebted to the author for this book which gives them in a handy form what is very necessary for them but is not generally found in books on that subject.

In the first part of his book, the author examines the different definitions of Religion given from the various standpoints, viz., of Atheism, Philology, Philosophy, and Anthropology, and attempts to shew how they are inaccurate, but recognizes that the definitions based on Anthropological considerations are much better than the rest, since they recognize for the first time the two important factors of a religion, i.e., Belief and Worship. His objection against these last, however, is that they are too narrow and are not applicable to Buddhism—we might also add—to Jainism and particularly to Upaniṣadic Hinduism, the harbinger of these two great religions. We must indeed distinguish between Vedic or rather Brahmanic Hinduism which believed in Svarga and the supernatural powers which helped man to reach it on the one hand, and Upaniṣadic Hinduism which totally rejected such beliefs. All these are surely religions, and in order to include them in the definition, the author frames a new one, bringing out the three essential elements, namely (1) that it is

and must be a social institution, (2) that it must contain certain cardinal doctrines and beliefs, and (3) that it must contain certain rules of conduct, based on these doctrines and beliefs.

This new definition of the author does not, however, seem to us to be a great improvement upon the definition of either Hopkins or McDonell. If the words 'powers' and 'worship' in this old definition are interpreted in a little wider sense, as indeed Hopkins does, it easily becomes applicable to Buddhism and similar other religions; and as regards the first and according to the author obviously also the most important element of religion, it must be borne in mind, that when several men adopt a certain set of beliefs and rules of conduct and thus form themselves into a separate community mostly unconnected with the rest of the society, there arises a necessity for guiding the mutual relations between them, and it is in this manner that several more rules of conduct are framed by the religious teachers thus turning religion also into a social institution. Ardent religious preachers have indeed attempted to make it even a political institution, but since human nature is what it is they have never permanently succeeded in doing this. Its being a social institution, therefore, cannot be regarded as an essential element of a religion. This will be clear when we picture to our minds the early days of any new religion. When Gautama Buddha, e.g., after reaching perfection, collected a few followers around him and began to preach his newly discovered doctrines and conduct necessary for their realisation, we might very well say that he was even then preaching a religion even though it had not yet become a social institution.

H. D. VELANKAR.

A Short History of English Literature. By EMILE LECOUTS; translated by V. F. Boyson and J. Coulson. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 6s.

Of the early part of this book, which deals with pre-Chaucerian writings, I am not competent to judge; but it seems satisfactory, though whether for that reason or not, I cannot tell.

Generally speaking, periods are taken, in which the authors are variously classed as poets, prose-writers, dramatists, religious writers, scientists, *et cetera*. The time-limits are Beowulf and the present. The authors are, as a rule, dealt with individually, and general information is slipped in when they are being dealt with. The articles, as they may be called, on individual authors, range from a few lines to a

few pages, the longest, I think, being five pages, and the shortest two lines.

There is, of course, no question of inaccuracy or neglect of facts where M. Legouis is concerned, but nevertheless this book seems to me to serve no useful purpose for any class of student, not because of its matter, but because of its arrangement, its manner, and its size. The duty of a short history of literature is not simple, as its subject is not simple. It is not like science or ordinary history, where a record of facts alone is not only necessary, but almost all that is required in what is primarily intended as a school-book ; but it cannot escape dealing with matters of opinion, with impressions, with judgments which are not valid without their reasons, and reasons which in turn are not capable of simple expression in terms of fact ; and its final function is not therefore to give mere statements which are to be regarded as authoritative, but to act as a guide in the formation of personal opinions. Facts are necessary, but they are not all that is necessary. Such a book as this should also outline the historical development of the literature, describe the authors and their works, and discuss to some extent their inter-relations. Now, M. Legouis' treatment is first of all factual, and his judgments are expressed dogmatically. I do not say they are intended as dogma, but they are stated, not only without qualification, but often as if no qualification could be necessary, and no possibility of doubt present. The judgments themselves are backed by M. Legouis' high authority and are as near ideal correctness as those of one, who, after all, as he himself emphasizes, is not native to the literature with which he deals, can be, when they are not argued but expressed in a very condensed form which tends to sacrifice the variety of observed, and the basic rationality of philosophic truth to the 'characteristic French acuteness and lucidity' with which the wrapper justly credits this book. These statements of opinion tend not so much to give a wrong impression as to give none. To say "*The impression produced by Ford is as deep as it is painful; the atmosphere of his plays is sultry, motionless, thundery. His persistence in depicting suffering, perverse or exquisite, is a sign of decadence, but as an artist he ranks high,*" is to make a statement which is meaningless to those who have not read the author, which is the ordinary state of school-children and junior students, and useless to those who have, since they know as much of their own knowledge, and stand in need of help towards the understanding and criticism of Ford.

There is already in existence a short history of English literature—Saintsbury's—which this one in no way supersedes, for that does all that this does, does it better, and does more, with the sole comparative disadvantage of presenting dates in a way less immediately

apprehensible. Saintsbury's genius added to his amazing catholicity of taste and almost invariably balanced and satisfying judgment, the faculty of so describing his authors and their works that a desire to go to the works themselves arises, where he continues to be the most helpful and friendly of guides. These higher qualities M. Legouis' work completely lacks, and its use as a text-book would, I am afraid, only tend to encourage the prevalent evil habit of preferring the memorization of text-books to the reading of literature, by providing students with short and quotable dogmas, and thus acting as a superior sort of aid to tearless passage and royal progress through examinations to degrees.

In the preface M. Legouis admits a doubt whether recent and contemporary writers should have been treated at all, and explains that his treatment of them is only a provisional sketch, which is to be adjusted and filled up as the years pass. Any sort of accurate or final judgment of contemporary writers is, especially in a book like this, very difficult and inevitably unsatisfactory. Saintsbury wisely refused to utter any such judgments *ex cathedra*; and it seems a pity to offer students dogmatic opinions which cannot even be regarded as authoritative.

This book is either too long or too short. If the critical matter were omitted, and it were wholly occupied with giving facts of biography, of form, of language, of historical development, and of obviously proven relations, it would be a most valuable and compact work of reference. If the critical matter were so increased that adequate discussion of the more subtle factors in literature, both historical and personal, took place, then it would offer a treatment of English literature all the more valuable for its French viewpoint, logic, and clarity, giving an objective view of what is too often considered in the light of subjective patriotism.

I must praise the illustrations, which consist of interesting reproductions of manuscripts and portraits, and pictures of book-making machinery at different times, and which include an excellent reconstruction of an Elizabethan stage. The translation appears to be competent, keeping the general atmosphere of French criticism with success, while avoiding constructions and mannerisms foreign to English.

J. O. BARTLEY.

Stevens' Elements of Mercantile Law. By HERBERT JACOBS, Esq., B.A., Bar-at-Law. Ninth Edition (1934). Butterworth & Co., Ltd. Price Rs. 6-12-0.

Good wine needs no bush. Stevens' Elements of Mercantile Law has long held the field as a text-book which gives the student of commercial law just what he needs—a clear and succinct exposition of the principles of the law of contracts, with particular reference to special branches of mercantile law like insurance, shipping, stock-exchange transactions, bankruptcy and arbitrations. The fact that the book has already run into nine editions, and has also been translated into French is a sufficient indication of its popularity and success. It is recommended as a text-book for the purposes of the examinations held by the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales, the Incorporated Society of Accountants and Auditors, the Institute of Bankers and other similar examining bodies.

The Indian Universities have not been slow to recognise the benefit which their students of law and commerce are certain to derive from a study of the law governing commercial transactions, as presented in Stevens' "Elements". The chief merit of the book is in the method of treatment adopted by the author, who evidently believes that students can best assimilate legal principles when they are disentangled from the mass of legal precedent with which they tend to get mixed up. The beginner is often puzzled by the complexity of the facts of reported cases, and is consequently unable to see the wood for the trees. For a book which is primarily intended as an introduction to the study of any branch of the law the correct and only proper method of presentation is to state the principles in lucid language and to cite decided cases only by way of illustration of those principles. This method has been successfully employed by Stevens.

The book falls into five parts, the first of which gives a very general view of the law of contracts. The second part deals with contracts between parties standing in a certain legal relationship to one another, such as agents, partners, shareholders and directors. The third part divides contracts according to their subject-matter, and gives a short account of the various classes of contracts. The subjects dealt with are : sale of goods, negotiable instruments, insurance, contracts of affreightment and carriage, contract of suretyship, guarantee, pawns, mortgages and liens, and shipping and stock-exchange transactions. Part IV deals with bankruptcy and Part V with arbitration, branches of law which cannot very well be omitted from a book on mercantile law. The appendices on patents, trade-marks, merchandise-marks and copyright are useful, though short.

The book has been brought up-to-date by including a chapter on Carriage by Air in Part III, and the relevant decisions of English Courts up to March 1934. The book richly deserves the reputation it has acquired among teachers and students of commercial law, and the publishers are to be congratulated on their efforts to prevent the book from getting out of date by timely and frequent revisions with the help of an editor who is actively associated with the teaching of this branch of the law and who is familiar with the student mind.

S. R. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

History of the University of the Punjab, by J. F. Bruce, Lahore, 1933, (with an illustrated souvenir album.).

Muhammedan Law, by Baron Marcellus Donald A. R. von Redlich, Cincinnati, 1934.

The Advaitasiddhi with the Guruchandrika, Vol. I, Edited by D. Srinivassachar and Pandit G. Venkatanarasimha (Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series No. 75, University of Mysore) Mysore, 1933. Rs. 3-12-0.

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The Folger Shakespeare Library—Washington (Trustees of Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.)

Rational Religion, by Basanta C. Bose, Calcutta, 1934. Rs. 2.

Bṛhati of Prabhakara Misra with the Rjuvimala pāncika of Saṅkanatha. Ed. by S. K. Ramanatha Sastri. (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 3, Part I), Madras, 1934. Rs. 5.

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PART IV

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF EDUCATED WOMEN IN BOMBAY CITY.

The Twentieth Century is witnessing a great upheaval of a social character motived by economic forces. Not only the revolt against the established usage is keen amongst economic classes, such as wage earning workers against their capitalist employers, but also youth is revolting against age and authority, and women against their traditional condition. So far women have been kept as a class repressed and backward and thus were unable to achieve full self-realisation. The present "fight" of women for civic equality and economic individuality is nothing but the expression of their desire to obtain full opportunity and freedom for self-expression. The Woman Movement, taking its birth in the West is spreading throughout the world. Ever and again new forces come into existence to displace the old established order of society. Whatever is permanent is adopted by society, and the progress of civilisation is furthered thereby. Woman seeks a new and better place for herself in this new readjustment so as to secure for herself greater scope for self-development.

Between the establishment of the old and the establishment of the new there is invariably a transitional period with its somewhat tragic concomitants. The woman of the present generation, brought up in old tradition and surrounded by people very largely influenced by the old customs, and yet having new ideas for herself and her place in society, is bound to find at times life trying and difficult. The period of such social misfits is a transitional period. In the West society is just coming out of such a transitional stage, and is getting itself adjusted to woman's new position. In the meanwhile western ideas have travelled east. The means of communication and intercourse between the east and the west are daily increasing and the ideas and

the practices of the west are increasingly copied in the east. It is, therefore, easily understandable that a new awakening of woman in the west should have some effect on woman's position in this country. It is to find out the nature and extent of this effect on Indian women, that I undertook this investigation.

The index of the effect of the awakening on Indian women is their economic conditions. Therefore, my thesis is an attempt at the investigation of the economic conditions of educated women : how far they have become or are trying to become economically independent ; and the reactions of this independence on the old ideal of Indian Womanhood, on social institutions in which women are concerned ; and finally, on her status in the eyes of the society.

The new awakening has not permeated the masses of India. It is as yet restricted to the educated women of the propertied middle class residing in great cities of India. This class is numerically a small one, but its influence is great ; because it is this class which comprises the bulk of the energy, enthusiasm and enlightenment in the country. I limited myself to the educated class because they are the first to come under modern influences.

The reasons which forced me to limit my enquiry are quite obvious. I could not undertake the detailed survey of the economic position of women all over India. Not only have I had to confine my survey to the city of Bombay but therein also only to the educated women residing in the town. The definition of educated women adopted in this enquiry may be said to be somewhat arbitrary. But besides the reasons already advanced, it is only in an arbitrary group so formed that I could find a wide enough field for a detailed intensive study. For the purpose of this thesis I took the Matriculation Examination of our University as the minimum of education necessary for the scope of this study. At this stage secondary education is finished, and students begin their careers for higher education, which may lead eventually to some profession. Moreover, at this point, they begin to come more in contact with the outside world through associations, clubs and newspapers. Thus they become acquainted with western thought, ideals and movements, which many a time result in altering their whole outlook of life. Hence the women included in this survey are those with an education at least of the Matriculation standard. My study, I may add, was primarily concerned with Indian Educated women as showing most interestingly the effects of the new ideas. I have, however, included the results of my inquiries amongst non-Indians and also non-Matriculated earning Indian women only to throw into bold relief the outlines of the main picture by means of the contrast.

The spread of education, especially higher education on western lines is slowly extending to the masses. Some seventy years back the Universities were established in different great cities. With the help of these Universities and that of a properly organised department of Public Instruction in all provinces, education has made some progress amongst men and to a less extent among women. Taking the case of Bombay City alone, by way of example, there were (in 1930) 3959 male students and 410 female students studying in different colleges. I mention their number, not simply because of the influence new ideas have on their outlook on life, but also because of their indirect influence by way of imitation among their countrymen and countrywomen who would like to follow them in all respects as far as they can.

Since the establishment of the British domination in this country, the self-contained life of India has been gradually vanishing and India is rapidly becoming modernised. Women as constituting half of the nation have not escaped from the influence due to the modernisation of India. It is quite evident from concrete facts. Educational facilities and professions have been thrown open to them and Indian women have not failed to take advantage of them. Many of them are taking to the professions, like law and medicine, to satisfy the modern needs. The period of transition is perhaps not conspicuously long or hard for women in this country ; though their success in the new avocations, it will have to be admitted, is not quite so striking as might be desired. In politics too the principle of representation has been recognised and woman in India is either already given the franchise or will soon get it. Besides thousands of women from lower classes are coming to industrial towns to work in the factories. It may, therefore, be concluded that, in general the life of India is greatly affected by western ideas and movements and nowhere is that effect so evident as in the case of women.

Women as they stand face to face with modern conditions have become conscious of their rights and powers. They are trying to remove their disabilities as can be witnessed from the activities of such organisations as the "All India Women's Conference". The organisers of this conference are largely responsible in getting the Sarada Bill passed into an Act, thus removing the deep rooted evil of Indian society and one of the greatest handicaps on women struggling for emancipation, in the form of child marriage.

The Woman Movement in India has not reached that stage which it has in the west and its effects have not become to that extent vital to the Indian society. The problems arising out of the revolt of woman against her traditional life as well as her fight for civic equality and economic

independence, therefore, have not attracted the attention they deserve from the thinking world of India. Therefore, the field for investigation that I chose was so far quite unexplored. That being the case I had no ready made data, or material easily available, on which I could base the discussion of the problem of my thesis. Limiting myself to the city of Bombay, and there also only to the educated class of women, the method I adopted was a process of induction. I decided to make a close and thorough study of the economic conditions of the educated women I could get at. With this aim in view, a questionnaire was prepared, bearing in mind all the factors likely to influence their economic condition. Questions were introduced as to their religion and caste, education and status, in order to examine their position from every stand-point, and observe the reaction of such factors on the economic position. The chief difficulty in this respect was in framing such questions as would elicit full information on all points and yet remain within the bounds of legitimate scientific enquiry of this kind. The answers, moreover, must be such as would enable me to test economic reaction on the position of each woman.

To make clear the object of the enquiry, I prepared a printed appeal to women coming within the scope of my inquiry. I explained in that covering letter the purpose of my study, showed the utility of such inquiries in general and with a view to make the research as full and ample as possible, requested them not only to answer the printed questions in the questionnaire but to grant a personal interview; so that I might make such further inquiries and observations as may arise from the answers given, or which may be necessary to complete the picture I was preparing.

Before proceeding with the individual inquiry I tried to make a list of women coming within the definition adopted in this thesis. For the purpose of making such a list I had mostly to rely in the beginning on University Records. As these records are not, however, adequate for locating all Indian women, educated up to the Matriculation stage I tried another method of approaching individual women. The parties I meant to approach were divided into three groups, Matriculation being taken as the starting point. College-going female students made up the first group, because theirs was the largest number that came within the scope of the enquiry. Besides they, as representing the present generation, would be the most amenable to new ideas and changing conditions due to western influences.

The second group comprises those women who have stopped taking further education at present, as also those who have completed their education but who are not engaged in any remunerative occupa-

tion. This class, however, includes very influential women, doing social or other work. Their views and experiences were a great help from the point of view of woman's awakening in India. Moreover, they, being settled in life, had a definite social and economic status, though not perhaps an entirely independent one.

The last group was of women employed in paying occupations. They were self-supporting women, and therefore economically independent. The change in views and ideals about the old domestic life becomes pronounced and noticeable only after some such state as this is reached. All such women, however, could not come in for investigation as many of them, though self-supporting to greater or smaller extent did not come within my scope. For instance, all wage-earning women in Bombay Mills ; all women domestic servants, etc. It was, however, not always possible to stick to the Matriculation standard. I have inquired of many women employed and earning in various offices, who were not matriculated—only because of their value in contrast to the main trend of the inquiry.

After finishing with these three main groups I also carried out some investigation into the conditions of a few female Marathi teachers in Municipal Schools, taking these as typical of their class. This also was done by way of contrast as likewise in the case of some of the cinema stars and professional singers and dancers, whose less openly professed subsidiary occupation might be less eligible even if more remunerative, than the professed calling. The value in contrast of ideals and motives revealed by these supplementary studies is very significant.

It was easier for me to see the women collectively. So wherever possible I visited them *en masse* at such place where I could expect to find them in large numbers, for example, the various colleges, high schools, hospitals, business offices and banks. I visited in all eleven colleges. Out of 345 women-students approached, 177 replied. Generally speaking the student world did not take the matter as earnestly as I wished them to do. Then different Girls' High Schools were visited to pursue my inquiry with women-teachers there engaged. Wherever the Head Mistresses were European women, I met with no response. The same was the case with Mission Schools. In other schools I had the usual difficulty in making my purpose understood, before I could secure forms from some teachers at least. In all 18 schools were visited and 178 women-teachers approached, out of them only 46 replied. Simultaneously I proceeded with business offices such as the General Post Office and General Telegraphic Office, hospitals for lady doctors and nurses, banks for women-clerks as well as hostels for women-students. In the business-houses

I found most of the women engaged to be Anglo-Indians. Rarely were they found responsive and I too was not earnest about them as the result of enquiry into their condition would be only useful as a contrast to the main picture.

Having finished with these large fields, I proceeded to see individual women at their own houses. Individual addresses of the same were secured through such organisations as the Women's Council, the Bombay Presidency Women Graduates Union, the Medical Council and from the list of the registered graduates. The field extended from Colaba to Bandra. I leave to the imagination of the readers my difficulties in finding out the residences only from postal addresses. In all 70 women were seen individually, out of whom 37 replied.

The aim of my investigation being to find out the economic conditions of the educated women in the city of Bombay, the method adopted was (1) to draw up the heads of inquiry, so as to elicit all the necessary information without being inquisitive or importunate ; and (2) to frame such questions under each one of these heads as would lead to the required information. The questionnaire was divided into four parts ; personal, educational, status and economic position. These divisions were made for the following purposes.

Questions in the "Personal" part were intended to draw out all the relevant material regarding the individuality, association and the general environment of the person answering. For example, the questions were asked about the birth-date, religion, caste and residence of the women.

Religion has always been in India, at least, an important factor in governing the lives of people. It has regulated the relationship between the sexes, particularly in regard to its economic consequences thus assigning a definite status to women and investing that status with a strong religious sanction. Different religions have put forward different ideals of womanhood, thereby maintaining furthering but rarely checking the subjection of women. The main pivot of that subjection is the economic dependence of woman on man, since woman is, as a rule, precluded from any work which could bring her a material return and make her valued for the sake of that return.

It must be well known to any one dealing with Indian society that the caste system is a root institution. The principle of caste is still an integral factor whose far reaching effects it is impossible to ignore. The present tendency is, however, towards breaking, or at least weakening, the divisions of caste and the old regime in general. People of both sexes imbued with new ideas, are longing

for a larger and freer life, and so they are straining hard at their ancient shackles of caste. Bearing in mind the importance of caste on the life of the people, a question dealing with caste of educated women has been put in the questionnaire.

The second part of the questionnaire deals with educational particulars of the person answering. The first question inquires about the educational qualifications of the parents of the woman. In case the parents are themselves well-educated they are more likely to appreciate the advantages of education and so strive to give equal facilities to their sons as well as their daughters. Parents themselves, uneducated—if they can afford it, go in for higher education for daughters as a social ornament or because it is generally the fashion in these days to make the girls take education till they are married and still more because to send a girl to school gives her a better occupation than if she sat idly at home. Hence the question about the degree of enlightenment amongst parents.

Next come questions regarding the educational particulars of the women concerned. They aim at finding out whether the individual is a student at present—if so at what stage of her educational career ; what is her future ambition ; or at what stage has she left it and so on. The course which a woman-student intends to follow would be some indication of her future life as well as of her personal inclinations.

Then come questions regarding the supervision of and expenditure on a woman's education. The former would also help to indicate probably the aim or ideal kept in view. The latter would be some index of the presence and of the degree of the economic motive. Next follows the question on the purpose of education. Generally in the case of girls, the cultural motive is still predominant. It is due to the force of circumstances and not to deliberate purpose that educated women have to seek remunerative employment and so exploit their education. However this question is put to see how far women can read their minds clearly, and how far they are pursuing their education with the definite aim of attaining or preparing for economic independence. The questions on accomplishments and amusements have been asked with very nearly the same motive. Amusements would also indicate to a certain extent the tendency of educated women of leading a freer and probably out-door life. If the woman spends some time at least in out-door games, that would mean probably that she is paying attention to her health and that she is ridding herself of the old traditional restrictions. The question of educational or academic career would testify to the seriousness with which it was sought and pursued. From all such side questions, it

was attempted to find out the presence of economic motive or otherwise in seeking higher education.

The third part relates to the status of the women, and is designed to find out the effects of education and the new ideals of woman's personal dignity and her economic independence on the fundamental institutions of society—marriage and family. Marriage and family are two institutions which affect the life of a woman far more profoundly than that of man. Hence the interest of these questions.

Hitherto, in India as in Eastern Society, marriage has been the only goal of every woman's life. An unmarried woman was unknown and impossible in India, obviously because women had no property rights and they were neither free nor trained for any paying occupation. The idea of woman doing any remunerative work outside the home was utterly strange to the minds of our people. She must be supported by some body throughout her life by the father during virginhood, by the husband during youth and after the husband by the son or any other relative. The widow has, of course, been a noteworthy feature of Indian society because of a life-long sentence of degradation for a mere misfortune. But even for the widow, the chances of a search for economic independence were exceedingly limited. The new consciousness, however, of a reforming spirit, in the last fifty years or so seems to have begun in each community in the desire to ameliorate the lot of the unfortunate woman. And so, even where they did not quite go to the length of advocating freedom of remarriage for the widow, they agreed to find a measure of economic betterment for such enforcedly single woman. The modern educated woman has all these special peculiarities in view, and so her attitude is unavoidably coloured thereby.

In Indian society again, early marriage being the rule, marriage used to be arranged by the parents, and the parties to it had no voice in choosing their life partner. Even when the evil of too early a marriage came to be recognised the age for marriage was first raised in the case of boys only. Here educational reasons—also of an economic character—were responsible. The rise in the age of marriage for girls is a very recent phenomenon.

In India—and particularly amongst Hindus—marriage, if the husband proves to be of an uncongenial temperament or even of a bad character the lot of the wife becomes unenviable. She has no alternative but to submit to him. Her maintenance, her social position, her very social life so to say, is dependent on him. If she shows the slightest inclination to revolt, she is condemned by society as sinful and unfit for social intercourse. All these factors made her a submissive, docile creature, and so marred her individuality. Educated women, to-day, however, cannot resist the influences of the new age, with its promise

for greater scope of activity for them. I have, therefore, included questions relating to status as affected by marriage in the hope to find out how far the new influence has begun to tell. Even under a marriage of choice the subjection of women in law may endure. But the new consciousness is aiming at recasting the law itself and I wanted to find what basis there was in the unspoken mind of the modern Indian woman, to further such attempts at radical reconstruction. It is in the answers to these questions that one finds how far the consciousness has grown that the subjection of Indian women and in particular her economic dependence, making marriage compulsory for her, has been one of the vital causes responsible for the present situation. "In all civilised nations of the past examination will show that. it has almost invariably been from the woman to the man that enervation and decay have spread".*

The trend of my inquiry, of course, does not mean that women should avoid marriage, it only means that it should never be made compulsory for them by society. Next to marriage in its effects on the life of women comes the institution of joint family and of the property rights of women therein. The joint and undivided patriarchal family is another feature of Indian society on which the new educated woman in India must have her say. In a city like Bombay, people are beginning to live more and more in single families, dismembering the ancient institution which provided a mutual insurance for its members. In the single family the question of such insurance becomes more acute, particularly as regards the rights of property of a childless widow in such a family, under the law as it is. Hence the added interest in this group of questions.

Having finished with the joint family and the property rights of women a question has been put to find out how many women are promoting the welfare of their sisters by working in different women's organisations.

This investigation has been conducted, taking the economic position of women as an index of their awakening. All the other questions have been asked to ascertain this main point. While inquiring about the economic condition of women the following points have been borne in mind, whether the women are solely dependent on their parents or their husbands, whether any of them have so much property of their own as to be able to live independently if occasion arises, if they have no personal—meaning absolutely their own—property to that extent, has the idea of an economic independence gained such a force as to make them earn something? Or are they satisfied with the prosperous condition of their family only? If

**Woman and Labour*, by Olive Schreiner, page 101.

not doing any paying work themselves are they doing any social work? These points, moreover, are likely to throw side-lights on the social ideals of each person.

As women did not until very recently do any paying work they could only have that much property as came to them by inheritance, or what was given to them on the occasion of their marriage. What is given to the daughter from the father's side or from her husband's side at the time of marriage becomes her sole property and is called *Stridhan*. "While declaring perpetual tutelage of women, and their general incapacity to hold property the Hindu Law concedes to them the privilege of holding property of certain descriptions with absolute power of disposal.....the law of *Stridhan* stands, therefore, in favourable contrast with the general spirit of the Hindu Law, which in other respect is not very equitable towards women."* The daughter inherits the property of her mother. This is how the woman stands in the eyes of law, but sometimes the facts are quite different. Be it noted that women of the upper classes rarely exercise their legal rights by going to courts of law. If the *Stridhan* is given in the form of ornaments, as it is usually done, it is very often appropriated by the husband for his personal use if necessity arises. The wife being of a submissive nature, is afraid to protest against this usurpation. A majority of women have moreover no idea that they have got any such absolute legal right over their ornaments. Hence the abuse of the institution to the prejudice of women.

Property rights for women are more favourable in other communities. According to the Indian Law of Succession the daughter of an Indian Christian gets some share in her father's property. In the Parsee Community also, the daughter inherits some share from her father's property. The Mahomedan Law, of all other laws is the most liberal to women. The mother, the sister and the daughter are sharers in the man's property. If there is a son the daughter gets half the share of her brother. If there is no son she gets half the property of her father. This is how woman stands in the eyes of different laws. In recent years law has begun to allow woman to hold her self-acquired property. That is why these questions regarding the personal property of the women interrogated, were put.

In by-gone days, people took it to be quite unnatural for women at least of the upper and middle classes to do any remunerative work outside their home. Life in economically self-sufficient and prosperous villages made it unnecessary for them to go out for wage earning, though within the shelter of the home their skill and labour may have

*The Hindu Law of Marriage and *Stridhan* by Banerjee, p. 34.

added materially to the well-being of the family. They were never an absolute burden on society. Women of all classes, except the few very rich, were accustomed to do some productive work in their respective homes but such labour was never reckoned as remunerative. But modern sentiment and conditions have made some changes even in villages. In cities like Bombay the struggle for existence has become very keen because of the high cost of living and general poverty of the people. Women are forced to come out and seek remunerative work away from their home and traditional occupation to eke out the domestic budget, or to provide for new needs. They are accordingly now found working as teachers in schools, as clerks in business offices, and as doctors and nurses in hospitals. Questions, therefore, were asked while inquiring into the conditions of women employed in such occupations, or carrying on professional work of their own to find out whether women have ambitions in this direction, whether they are given equal pay with men for the same work, whether they have to suffer any disadvantages peculiar to their sex, whether the work has told upon their health in any way, and whether they have to undergo any trouble because of their sex.

Under modern influences the hold of social traditions is becoming loose and women feel that they should not only better their lot but also the lot of the people surrounding them by doing some paying work. Widows feel that they should work for their children. Similarly the daughters feel that like grown-up sons they should provide for their aged parents. To find out the extent of this feeling and how far this sort of necessity has driven women to seek employment, questions whether the woman supports any dependents and the reason for such support, etc., have been put.

Lastly in the column headed "Remarks" I requested the women I approached to give their personal views with regard to their new ideals of economic independence for women, joint family and children, all with a view to find out the reactions of women's economic independence on social institutions. Where I could secure confidence I even inquired about their views on birth control, with the object of finding if they were in favour of limitation of the size of the family. Then their opinions on co-education, on change in secondary education for girls and the like were sought with a view to discover their ideas on these important problems as also on the general question of sex and the place they assign to it in their life. The health of the Indian people is deteriorating and average duration of age in India is much less than in England. To remedy this evil I also tried to find out whether they advocated compulsory physical training for girls. Some women were very willing to discuss these important problems with me, and they exchanged views very freely.

While discussing, observations were made about their standard of living, ways of living and their general temperament. It must be made clear that it was possible to go the full length of inquiry only with a very small number of the women approached.

The above analysis will suffice to show that the questionnaire has been framed with an aim to investigate the economic conditions of educated women in Bombay with all the side issues bearing on it taking that as an index of woman's awakening in India.

The object of the inquiry and its comprehensive nature being made clear by this analysis of the questionnaire I shall proceed to the results of the inquiry first according to the four divisions and then to the generalisations of the results.
Results of the inquiry—personal.

There are no records available as to the number of matriculated women in the city or even in the whole of the presidency. As stated above I made up a list of women coming within the matriculated standard whose names and addresses it was possible to secure. Out of 638 women approached I received replies from 267 women. The percentage of replies received to the total list of women I have made is 41.6. To show the economic conditions of the educated women by contrast I approached 153 literate women earning their livelihood by work and got 82 replies. Education of these women is below the matriculation standard. To show another contrast I approached 13 non-Indian women. 11 of them replied.

From the inquiries made with respect to age one thing becomes clear. Roughly speaking, since the beginning of this century, there has been slow but decided and progressively increasing change in the life of women in this country, in so far as they have begun to take higher education and seek for remunerative employment. My inquiry shows that tendency to have become most marked only in the last twelve years. To that extent it may be said that the rising generation of the women of India has become susceptible to modern influences.

After the age question comes the question regarding religion. Women belonging to seven different religious beliefs were taken into account. 118 Hindu, 96 Zoroastrian, 32 Christian, 6 Jew, 4 Jain, 3 Mohamedan women have in all replied. One has professed herself a free thinker, while another has given her religion as the Religion of the Spirit. Though the number of Hindu women is the greatest, the percentage of women educated upto the matriculated stage to the total women population of the community is greatest among the Parsees. Next come according to percentages, the Jews, the Christians

Hindus and Jains are on an equal basis. Mohamedans come the last showing a percentage of only .003 of educated women.

Then follows the question of caste. Amongst the Hindus 29 different castes have been considered. The greatest number of educated women is found amongst the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins. Next come the Pathare Prabhus, then Chitpavan Brahmins, Chandrasenia Kayastha Prabhus and so on. In some castes like Kudal Gaud or Patidar, only one woman was found educated in each caste. And they gave me to understand that there were not more than one or two educated women in their communities. These facts indicated that progress of women's education is not alike even amongst the Hindus. Caste is also a governing factor. But women of backward castes, like Marathas, are gradually coming forward and that shows the progressive tendency of the times.

There is no caste system amongst the Zoroastrians. Amongst the Indian Christians I found there are four internal divisions which correspond to the Hindu Castes. The East Indians seem to be better advanced than the rest. Amongst the Jains and the Mohamedans also there seem to be divisions similar to the castes of Hindus.

These facts, therefore, indicate that the caste system is not a peculiar or exclusive feature of the Hindus only. It seems to be also prevalent amongst other communities as well, and leads the inquirer to conclude that all peoples who have come to settle in India are affected by this distinctive peculiarity of the Indian Social System.

Coming to the question regarding the residence of educated women, out of 267 women whose cases were looked into 150 were born and brought up in Bombay, 61 were domiciled here and 49 were temporary residents of the City. That indicates the influence of the City life on the advance of Women's education.

Part II of the questionnaire deals with the educational particulars of the women. To proceed with the results in the same order as the questions put, the query regarding the nature and extent of the parents' education comes first. Out of cases of 24 educated (matriculates and above) parents, 7 have given education with

Results of the enquiry—educational. two aims in view,—cultural and utilitarian—12 exclusively for education's sake and 3 for utilitarian aims in view, while 2 have not stated their aim at all. This means that out of 267 mothers, only 24 are educated. It is easy to understand that where both the parents are educated, they can realise the importance of education for their daughters, and consequent possibility of economic independence for women much better and so work deliberately for a definite aim.

Thirty-two fathers, out of 132 educated, have given education

with a double aim, 88 exclusively for education's sake and 12 for purely utilitarian purposes. There is not a single case where both the parents are alive and only the mother is educated and not the father.

Out of 17 literate parents that is those with a modicum of education only, 4 had in view both the aims, 10 only for culture's sake, and 3 for utilitarian purposes in the education of their daughters. It is interesting to note that education of girls for the sake of its cultural value,—or ornamental purpose, if you like to put it in that way,—seems to be most popular with fathers in all classes. There are 42 cases in which the fathers are literate and not the mothers. In addition, there are 4 cases where only the mothers are literate and not the fathers. This is worth noting. I believe it is due to the fact that the wives of such men—the mothers as here shown—come from progressive families, but that they themselves are much older or a more backward lot.

In all out of 219 educated and literate parents, 128 or nearly 60% have given education to their daughters for the sake of the culture it gives. In these cases it is not unlikely that these parents had in view also the object that their highly-educated daughters would be preferred by desirable candidates to their uneducated sisters in marriage. 60 or 27% of the parents were far-sighted enough to have the idea that in case their daughters were not married they would need some means which could make them economically independent. Only 26 parents or about 12% had the purely utilitarian purpose in view.

I found only 5 cases where both the parents were illiterate. This may be regarded as another feature calling for attention for it is difficult for parents themselves uneducated to appreciate the advantages of higher education for their girls so far as to depart from the common custom in this regard and make the sacrifice which higher education entails on the parents, for the sake of girls who may quite likely marry and go out of their family and so cease to be even that sort of insurance of old age to parents which well educated but dutiful children provide for their parents. The only reasonable explanation I can find for this phenomenon lies in the growing force of the influence that the spirit of our age commands.

In 40 cases of educated women the parents are dead. And three women have not given any information about their parents.

The conclusion seems obvious that the more educated parents are, the more willing they are to provide higher education to their daughters.

Then comes the question of the stage of education which these women have reached. Out of 267 women included in the main group, one hundred and seventy-seven are women-students and they are

grouped as I A, 66 self-earning women from the group I B, while in I C are given 24 women who are neither students nor employed. Out of the total number 267, 12 or 4·5% are matriculates only and 10 out of these twelve or 83% are earning. Out of 64 F. Y. A.s. 58 are students, 5 are earning. Preference is shown by these women for the Arts Course as there are 112 or, over 45% in a pure Arts' Course, and 13 in the teachers' line. Out of these 112, 72 are students. That means the number of women going in for higher education is increasing. 50 women have taken Medical Course, 37 of them are students and 13 are practising Doctors. That again means that a growing number of women is going in for education which would promise them economic independence.

There is no woman who has taken Medicine in Group I C. It proves that those women who go in for Medicine intend to make a definite economic use of their education.

Nine women are in the Science Course. Three in Law and three in Commerce. We may justly regard at least those going for law or commerce to be similarly intent on a profession for themselves. While even those pursuing the Science Course may be taken to have a like inclination, utilising their special education as further help in teaching as a profession. The aggregate of all those in Law, Medicine, Teaching, Commerce and Science amounts to 78 or about 30% of the total definitely so inclined. And if to that we add, as we must the unknown number of future teachers and clerks from the women now engaged in the Arts' Course proper, we should not be surprised if the proportion exceed $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total. The conclusion is clear, the tendency of the women of the day is to seek economic self sufficiency.

66 of the educated women are already earning their livelihood. Out of them 49 are teachers, 13 doctors, 1 advocate and 2 clerks. Women-students working for the B. Com. Degree told me that they had taken up that course because they believed that there were better chances for employment for a B. Com. than for a B. A.

Having reviewed the degree of the present education among Bombay women in this class, a consideration of their future intention for further education should also prove interesting and suggestive. Out of 174 women intending to prosecute their studies, 89 want to take a degree in Arts, and 12 want to specialise in teaching. That shows a predominant preference is given to Arts' Course by the present educated women. If we consider the Arts' Course to be a study of humanities, and as such more cultural in value than the other courses of study open to women, we would realise that the cultural aim is never absent from the women's mind, or from the minds of those who have charge of woman's higher education.

One of these women wants to be Ph. D. (Lond.) and 4 want to take teacher's Diploma of London. 56 women want to go for further studies in Medicine. The number of women for this line has increased by 6 over that in the former table. 14 women want to go in for Law as against 3 in the last table, 2 for Commerce and 1 for Science. 18 women want to take foreign Diplomas in Medicine and 3 want to become Barristers. The number of women intending to go in for higher education abroad, and seek foreign Diplomas is also increasing.

Secondly, out of 174 women intending going further, 153 are still students. But 16 women out of 66, already engaged in remunerative work, want to take more education to better their condition. 4 out of 5 in C Group want to take professional degrees. These women are not engaged in any work at present, but want to go in for a profession. That means 17% of women, who are already settled in life, are not content with their present condition, and would like to be economically independent by taking a professional degree. Then comes the question of supervision of women's education and expenditure on the same.

Out of the total number of 267 women, 228 have answered this question. It is difficult quite fully to appreciate the reasons of those who have refused or omitted to answer it. The education of 152 women was supervised by their fathers. Reading this figure along with the previous analysis of the purpose of education, it seems evident that fathers largely supervise this education, and that they have in mind the cultural as well as a commercial aim in educating their daughters.

16 out of 24 educated mothers were able to supervise the education of their daughters. It is difficult to estimate exactly, apart from this figure, the influence of educated mothers in the education of their daughters. From the personal conversation, however, I could gather that the mother's motives were mixed, being a desire for cultural improvement of their daughters which would make of them a good asset in the marriage market. The economic motive may also be present though perhaps not so clearly as in the case of the fathers who know the struggle for existence by first-hand experience.

Seven married women, and two widows, are prosecuting their studies and 1 woman has taken her B. A. Degree 8 years after her marriage. Out of these seven married women, in three cases only the husband supervised their education. These three are in Group I. A. That means that in the younger generation, men desire to have cultured companions and like their wives to take higher education. They do not seem to be frightened by the possibility of educated

wives demanding their rights even against themselves. In 23 cases the education has been supervised by relatives other than the parents or the husband. Here the motive must be very likely mixed. In 6 cases from B Division the presence of the economic motive seems to be evident because the women in this division are earning their livelihood. I found 2 cases where a public institution has supervised the education. In these cases the presence of the definite economic motive is indisputable. There are no less than 31 women, who have supervised their higher education themselves.

Nearly the same conclusions can be drawn from the answers to the question regarding the payment of women's education. 11 cases were found where women paid the expenses of education out of their own self-earned money from spare-time work. Next comes the question of the purpose of education. Out of 267 women 243 have given some purpose or other and only 24 or less than 9% of the women are not clear about their aim in having received such education. Perhaps they have received their education only in imitation of their sisters.

143 out of the total have stated their purpose as cultural. This makes 54% of the total. But I think in some of these cases perhaps the economic motive may not be altogether absent. Out of these 31 women, that is 12% from well-to-do classes were driven by force of circumstances to earn their livelihood. That shows the keenness of struggle for existence in these days. It is noteworthy that education has an economic value. 62 women have given their aim in taking higher education as partly cultural and partly utilitarian. While 28 women have definitely put the latter as the sole aim. They have explained that by the utilitarian motive they mean the settled purpose to be independent economically in after life with the help of this education. Is not this a clear sign of the times?

33% of the total educated women are struggling to better their economic condition. That also shows the present tendency. Moreover, 10 women who feel that there is no necessity for them to earn their living have made up their mind to devote their life to social service. That shows that educated women do not want to enclose themselves within the four walls of the home or seek a life of cultured ease, but that they are increasingly willing to devote their lives to the uplift of their fellows.

As regards accomplishments 54 of the women stated music as their accomplishment, 53% embroidery and sewing while few gave cooking as one of their accomplishments. Some of them were spending their spare time in reading and games, etc. Mostly the Parsee

and Christian women-students took part in sports, while the Deccani Hindu women-students kept themselves aloof. Generally the health of the latter did not look satisfactory.

Lastly comes, in this part, the educational career of the women. 162 women out of 267, i. e. 60% of the women, passed throughout at first attempt. 5 women had the honour of securing medals from the University. 26 women had the honour of being University Scholars and 24 college-scholars. 19 women received prizes from the University, and twelve took Honours degrees, 8 women secured First Class and 39 Second Class. All these figures speak well about the intellectual capacity of the women and their seriousness as well as diligence.

The questions put in part III of the questionnaire were aimed at finding out the influence of the new awakening inquiry—status of women on the fundamental institutions of society such as marriage and family.

To proceed according to communities 95 out of 118 or 81% Hindu women have been found unmarried. Of these 78 women are students, 16 are self-earning women, and 1 comes in Group I. C. The majority being yet of the student age it may be said we cannot legitimately draw any conclusion about the reaction on marriage and family. But two things seem to me to be clear: a growing proportion of these college students are unwilling or at least in no hurry to marry and, secondly, the age of marriage tends to be pushed back. 22 out of these women declare that they do not intend marrying at all and though this declaration need not be taken at more than its face value, it is sufficient evidence of the tendency. The average age of single Hindu women in this Group is 23. Of those who declare they intend to marry the average age is 22, and of those whose intention about marriage is not settled is 23. That means that marriage is now-a-days being postponed amongst the educated Hindu women up to the age of 22 to 23. This is a great but silent revolution. The Hindus are said to be a conservative people, and yet amongst them, 22 women have made up their mind to remain single; while those who intend to marry have not married till 22 or 23. Even amongst the non-matriculated women, 13 out of 57 are found not willing to marry at all; 3 married ladies and two widows from educated women are pursuing their studies. It was interesting to find the presence of the Hindu widow in the ranks of the highly educated women, since the plight of the Hindu widow presents a most difficult Socio-Economic problem in India to-day. Condemned by the traditional law of the community to a life-long sentence of barrenness and matelessness, the widow was reduced to the lowest level of economic existence in perpetual dependence on the male

relative of her husband. When, however, she has so far abandoned the old tradition as to seek education, the presumption is that she would also like to cut her ancient shackles by means of this education in the fulness of time. I dared not ask these widows if they intended to remarry if opportunity presented itself. But I have no doubt that they would not avoid reasonably agreeable and paying occupation if their circumstances demanded and they are typical of their class.

5 married Hindu women are found to be already self-supporting. That shows that there is a tendency for even married women in the Hindu community to want to be economically independent, though in the present cases they may quite possibly have been driven to resort to seek remunerative work for reasons of family circumstances, apart from their personal wishes.

In Group II of non-matriculated women 12 married women are self-supporting and 23 widows have taken to some paying occupation. It is interesting to note here, in passing, that the marriage age of women in all communities is very nearly the same. These educated and thoughtful women, it may readily be supposed, will not adopt marriage of necessity or convenience only : but that wherever they can they would insist on marriage of their own choice. That is another silent revolution rapidly progressing amongst us.

Of the total number of 96 Parsee women inquired into 86 are single. This is a very high percentage but they are mostly students still. Out of them 34 said that they were not willing to marry. The average age of single women and of those who do not intend to marry is 24 and 26 respectively. 23 single women are self-earning and 10 of them said that they did not intend to marry. The percentage of Parsee women not willing to marry is double that of Hindu women. The average age of a single Parsee woman is higher by only one year than that of a Hindu unmarried woman of the same group.

Of the 6 married women, 1 is pursuing her studies after marriage, 2 are self-supporting, and 3 come in C Division. In spite of the considerable difference in ways and views between the Parsee and other communities in matters of marriage, etc., the effects of modern education upto matriculation and beyond seem to be very closely similar in all persons similarly educated. Regardless of community marriage does not seem to be very popular to the modern educated women, at least the marriage of social convention as it exists to-day. I never ventured to ask any question regarding these young women's views about the reform of marriage laws, admitting of a greater degree of personal choice as well as a wider facility for the dissolution of marriages which have proved a failure. But if the drift of the general conversation I had with some of these women

may be an index I should say they would not be quite so averse to marriage if the institution is reformed. There is as yet nothing like sex-hostility developed in India if my inquiries are at all any guide, the present position being only a first groping towards a change.

Of the total number of 32 Indian Christian women 26 were found single; and out of them 8 said that they are not willing to marry at all. It is curious to note that the percentage of women not willing to marry is less amongst the Christians than amongst the Parsees, but is greater than amongst the Hindus. The average age of single and of those intending to marry is 23 and 24 respectively.

Three out of 4 Jain women were found single, 1 is married and is a student at present. The percentage of single women is less than with the Hindus. But the average age of single women and of those not intending to marry, is the same as in the Hindus.

Of 6 Jewish women, 5 are single, and of them 1 is earning for herself. One married Jewish woman is also found self-supporting. The percentage of single women is more amongst the Jews than amongst the Christians but the average age is less.

Two Brahmo women out of 6 are self-supporting, and not willing to marry at all. People professing themselves as Brahmo are considered to be reformed, and comparatively more westernised. Hence the percentage of single women is higher amongst them than amongst the Hindus. The average age of single women is 29, and of the 1 who intends to marry is 22. Out of the 2 women who said that they have no intention of marriage, 1 has given her age as 52. The old maid has now actually appeared on the Indian Horizon and may even become an institution, along with or in substitution of the widow. But this does not create quite the same economic problem as the widow did.

Out of 3 Mohamedan women, 1 is single, but is likely to marry, another is married and the third is a widow. It is interesting to note that this widow has clearly expressed her intention of not remarrying at all. The first two are students at present. The percentage of Mohamedan women is not worked out.

To conclude, therefore, Western education and new ideas of economic independence for women have silently worked upon the institution of marriage, till the whole character of that institution shows tendencies to change. India, which has never known single women except as widows, is now-a-days tending to develop life-long spinsters at least in the upper and more educated classes. And if their example is widely copied in the masses, the institution will spread till it silently revolutionises the very foundations of society.

The marriage, moreover, of mutual choice is growing : and that of parental arrangement is getting into disuse. In the former, naturally, the woman's position is bound to be superior. So far woman had to be silent even in the matter of such vital importance to her life as marriage. Parents arranged for her marriage and she had to submit. But the modern educated woman asserts her independence in this matter as one vitally affecting her life. And now-a-days educated people marry of their own choice rather than of their parents' choice or arrangement.

Out of 22 marriages amongst the Hindus, 14 have been marriages of choice and 6 of arrangements, i.e., the percentage of choice marriages to those of arrangement is 62 to 38. And even amongst the marriages declared to be of arrangement, the consultation of the wishes of the girls formally or informally is becoming quite an ordinary procedure. It is only when the formal marriage is nothing more than the final execution of an agreement made long before—an early betrothal—that we may say the woman's wish has no place in such a marriage. Out of 14 choice marriages, a much wider departure from the traditional Hindu marriage than even the marriage at higher age, 4 have been inter-caste marriages. Even among the under-matriculate women 4 have married of their own choice. The average age at the time of marriage of the educated Hindu woman is found to be 19 : this average age is smaller than the average age of single women because the married women belong to an earlier generation. While amongst the under-matriculate women the average age is 15.

The husbands of the educated women are all graduates ; and some of them have taken foreign degrees, another slight evidence of the desire to choose proper mates in marriage. In the Parsee community the percentage of choice marriages is naturally greater than in the Hindus, though the marriage of convention is not unknown even in that advanced community. Out of 7 marriages, 6 have been marriages of choice and 1 of arrangement. That is the percentage of marriage of choice to the marriage of arrangement is 86 to 14. The average age at the time of marriage of educated modern Parsee woman is 27. The greater number of choice marriages, and the higher average age in this community, indicate that they are more advanced in this respect than the Hindus. On the other hand among the cases I studied, I did not come across a single inter-communal marriage between a Parsee and a non-Parsee. Such marriages do, indeed, occur. But their incidence seems to be much less, at least among the educated middle class Parsees, than amongst the corresponding class of Hindus. The explanation lies in the natural apprehension of a small but tenacious community to be wiped off altogether if it encouraged intercommunal marriages. As, moreover, the law seems to be

that no one not born a Parsee can become a Parsee by voluntary conversion, the principle of internal marriage largely prevails.

Amongst Christians 5 out of 6 are marriages of choice and 1 of arrangement. The percentage is 83 to 17. Amongst the under-matriculate women there is only one marriage of choice and 1 of arrangement.

Amongst the non-Indian Group, of course, both the marriages are marriages of choice.

One Jew marriage is a marriage of necessity. Here is a single case out of 267 women, where the woman was forced by circumstances to marry, and afterwards her married life proved a failure. She is at present compelled to be self-supporting. The utmost rigour of the old fashioned marriage may thus be said to be rapidly disappearing.

In the Jain, the Bramho and the Mohamedan communities, out of the 4 married women that I met with 3 have married of their own choice. Of course, the Mohamedan marriage of choice is an exceptional case because the other Mohamedan widow who made up the figure 4 just mentioned above has remarked, "No girl dares to speak about her marriage." It is the parents who arrange for their daughter's marriage.

On the whole it seems evident that educated women have made a bold stand against the convention of their own marriages being arranged by the parents without their having a word to say for themselves in the matter. And some of them went to the length of having inter-caste marriages.

Next comes the question of joint family and property rights of women therein. This institution is a peculiar feature of Hindu society, though many Parsee women were found staying in joint families. One of these Parsee women gave me to understand that it is very difficult for a modern educated woman to put up with the ideas of the older generation. The latter are against the idea of married women becoming economically independent of their husbands. The Mohamedan woman remarked that she would be too willing to separate herself from the joint family. In all communities other than the Hindu, the joint family means that the sons and the parents or brothers after marriage live together. At the same time, each member can have separate property of his or her own. Even under such conditions, the educated women are not willing to stay in joint family because of the conflict between the old and new ideals of living. With the Hindus, of course, and those following the Hindu law in this matter the joint family means common ownership of all the family property by the males in the family, with certain restricted rights to the women introduced into the family by

marriages. This institution, like all others in the traditional Hindu Society, has weakened under modern influences. But its inherent economic advantages making it an excellent method of insurance against the contingencies of life, have afforded it strength and vitality in spite of its more obvious disadvantages in the eyes of the modern educated Indian.

Out of 118 Hindu women, 83 are living in single families, while 35 are living in joint families. A good number of even these would, if they could, live in single families. One married woman staying in a joint family remarked to me, "I don't think joint family life is conducive to individual happiness in India under existing circumstances." The percentage of joint families is greater outside Bombay than in Bombay. Comparatively the number of under-matriculate women staying in joint families is higher than the matriculated women. Even where they are staying in joint families they are longing to be in separate families of their own. Out of 35 women staying in joint families, 31 are unmarried. Single women, if they are born in such a family, have no alternative but to stay in the family. The real test is with married women, and they can separate if they choose. Out of 22 married Hindu women only four are staying in joint families. That is the true index of the present tendency. The members of 13 joint families are educated, and only 9 women in joint family have some property of their own. The married women are likely to get a share from their present joint family property.

Next comes the question of membership of club or association. 42 per cent. of educated women are members of either some club or association : while 152 women are not members of any club or association. The majority of these latter women consists of students. But women who are settled in life are doing some social work through organisations. Even 46 under-matriculate women are found to be members of some association or club. Some women are even found to be members of foreign associations. That shows the increasing tendency of educated women to have wider interests than those comprised in their family, and to do social work through organisations. The growing vogue and number of Women's Organisations of all sorts, each intent on some form or another of service for the uplift of Indian womanhood, is sufficient evidence of this tendency. Of course these organisations are still run mostly by the highly educated women, even though their membership is made up of the relatively uneducated ones.

To sum up from the figures as well as from the remarks made by the women with regard to marriage, the general tendency of educated Hindu women is, I think, towards a marriage of choice, unless debarred by such incidents as the dowry system. Marriage

as such is not despised or opposed by them. At the same time there is a section of the educated women who do not wish to marry, so long as the institution spells a life-long bondage as it does in their eyes to-day. Secondly, women of backward class such as Maratha or Namdev Nilgar, are coming forward as can be seen from their remarks to seek a career for themselves and be independent economically as well as socially.

42 Parsee women have given their opinion that the general tendency amongst them is towards marriage, whilst 19 women have been against this. Many of the educated women as can be deduced from the remarks, take up some profession or seek some remunerative work. They do not necessarily marry. In case they find that would-be husbands will not be able to afford the same standard of living to which they are accustomed, they do not consent to marry at all. And the number of candidates available with this qualification is rapidly falling. Economic independence, with all the advantages of a higher standard of living is preferable to them to a hand to mouth existence after marriage. The chance of remunerative work for duly qualified woman is still sufficiently high to make this preference of theirs understandable.

Amongst the East-Indian Christians strangely enough, women are better advanced in education than the boys. Educated women, therefore, choose to lead a single life rather than lower themselves by marrying uneducated men. On the other hand, the Goanese women are not so advanced in education. On the whole Christian women continue to earn even after marriage.

Amongst the Jews and Jains there are comparatively few educated women. The causes of backwardness in female education amongst the Jews are prevalence of the dowry system and the parents' notion that marriage is the sole aim of woman's life. Those who take education at all remain unmarried or marry outside the community, and take up paying work if necessity arises.

In the Mohamedan community, it is well known that female education is very backward : and therefore such questions as are here discussed do not yet arise with regard to them : or at any rate cannot be discussed with any hope of reliable results.

The results of the inquiry relating to the status of women reveal very important facts. Education has changed, almost wholly, the out-look of women on life. They have realised that their life is a separate entity from men's life. The idea of total subordination, economic as well as social, to the other sex is fast disappearing from them. Secondly, modern influences have penetrated even to the backward castes and communities. The change of outlook on life due to Western education on the one hand and facilities for

economic independence on the other, have fundamentally reacted on social institutions like marriage and family, altering them rapidly before our very eyes.

The economic position of educated women in India is taken as the index of the new awakening of women of this country. The Results of the change in this position of theirs will indicate the inquiry—econ. modern tendency toward westernisation. So far mic position. all the points bearing on the economic condition of women have been considered. The first question in this part relates to the personal income of the women meaning thereby absolutely their own property. Out of 267 women inquired into, 177 were students. These cannot be expected to have any income of their own. Except in seven cases, where they inherited some property, these women students have as a matter of fact no income at all. Out of the remaining 90 women, 68 have personal income ; that is to say 75% of the educated women that are settled in life have some independent income of their own. The rest 25% are totally dependent either on their parents or on their husbands if married.

Some of the educated women have not given the exact amount of their income. Some of the lady doctors in particular have declined to state their income saying that theirs is not a fixed income. The highest income so far found is Rs. 1,000/- per month of an educated woman, Rs. 500/- per month of an uneducated woman, and Rs. 350/- per month of a non-Indian woman. The last figure should not be taken as unquestionable because the inquiry about the non-Indian women has not been exhaustive. The lowest income of the educated woman is Rs. 37/- P. M., of an undermatriculate woman is Rs. 30/- P. M., and of a non-Indian is Rs. 80/- per month. That shows that non-Indian women are on the whole better off than Indian women. On the other hand, their standard of living is higher than that of the Indians generally speaking and so it may be questioned if Rs. 80/- P.M. to a non-Indian woman means the same standard of comfort as to an Indian woman. The average income of the three groups is respectively Rs. 185/-, Rs. 103/-, and Rs. 180/- per month compared to the average salary of a male graduate, and without allowing for a higher degree of unemployment amongst men, these averages of women's incomes are very substantial. The average of the Indian educated and non-Indian educated women are nearly the same ; while in the case of undermatriculates it is rather less. Still the figures of incomes indicate that educated women are at least so far independent economically as to have bare maintenance for their own single selves.

Looking, next, to the source of income, 11 women in group I, 1 in group II, and two in group III, get their income as interest on

property. By the property of women, I mean some form of wealth owned and possessed by the woman in her own separate right. The proportion of propertied women in the educated ranks is very small ; and the conclusion may well be drawn that education is no longer restricted to the women of the wealthier classes. Nine educated women and four uneducated get their income from independent Professions ; while 57 in group I and 78 in group II and 11 in group III derive their income as salaries from personal employment. The educated women take up to definitely salaried employment, rather than wait for the chances of an independent profession. The percentage of women following independent profession to employed women is 14 only. Amongst the independent professions I include only Law and Medicine ; and the latter is the most popular with educated women. To sum up, therefore, educated women are increasingly desirous of being more or less independent economically.

Next comes the question of personal property whether moveable or immoveable possessed by these women. The number of women having some property of their own in the three groups is respectively 31, 14 and 2. Out of 90 women settled in life, in Group I 31 are propertied, while 14 only of 82 in group II have some such property of their own.

Looking next to the nature of property, 5, 6, and 2 women in the three Groups respectively have landed property ; 8 and 5 in the first two Groups possess their separate property in the shape of ornaments : 17 in Group I and 2 in Group II have their properties in the form of cash deposited in banks. One from Group I and another from Group II have properties in the shape of shares in Joint Stock Companies. One woman in Group II has insured her life. Another in the same Group is the sole proprietress of a Dramatic Company.

How have these women acquired this property ? 11 women in Group I and 5 women in Group II have inherited property either from their parents, or from husband's side. The property of 14 others in Group I and 4 more in Group II was obtained as a *Stridhan*, that is separate property of her own allowed to a married woman under the Hindu Law. Every married woman in the Hindu community may be presumed to have such *Stridhan* of her own : but those who answered my question specifically as above must have in one way or another realised that *Stridhan* sufficiently to recognise it as such when the question was asked.

It is worth noting here the difference between the Maharashtrian woman's *Stridhan* and that of a Gujarati woman. Although the Hindu Law lays down that whatever ornaments or cash a girl receives in marriage from her father's side or husband's side is to be regarded as

her *Stridhan* and should be her sole property, yet amongst the Maharashtraans the ornaments usually remain in possession of the husband's family and many a time they are utilised for the benefit of the family in times of difficulty. In the case of the Gujarati woman she enjoys more concrete control over her *Stridhan* inasmuch as whatever property she brings from her father's side as also from her husband's side remains solely in her possession, and the cash if there is any, is deposited in a bank in her name. She has full liberty to enjoy its benefit while living, and after her death the property in the specific ornaments coming from her father's side and constituting the *Stridhan*, reverts to the father's family in the absence of any issue.

Before considering the matter of employment of women some information is given about the social work educated women are doing. Out of 24 educated women who are settled in life mention must be made here of 8 women carrying on social work. They are from the upper or wealthier class, and hence there is absolutely no necessity for them to seek any paying work. But they are not willing to lead an idle life. They are making use of their education for the uplift of their sisters. They work either as secretaries or presidents of social organisations. It is possible to argue that if the same talents and energies, devoted to some remunerative work would result in good income for such women. In addition to these 8 women, one woman student is doing most creditable work of educating the children of scavengers at Parel.

Next after questions regarding women's property I come to the details of their earnings. 12 women are following an independent profession, 11 as Doctors and 1 as Barrister from the educated class. Three from the uneducated—so far as I approached—have declared they are following the profession of singers and one following the profession of stage acting. It may be noted that the women in Group II represented type from each class of the profession and employed women and not the whole class.

So far I have found educated women to be employed in seven capacities; 9 as salaried Doctors, 3 as Superintendents of schools, 1 as a lecturer in a Secondary Training College, 3 as Secretaries of three different institutions of women, 1 as a paid secretary and 2 taking an honorarium only, 4 as Principals of High Schools for Girls, 35 as teachers in secondary schools, and 3 as clerks—2 in banks and 1 as an articled clerk receiving only honorarium. More women Doctors are seeking a salaried employment than practising their independent profession. One of the Principals of Schools also takes honorarium and not a regular salary.

Coming to Group II, under-matriculate women are employed in seven different capacities. The number of openings for this Group

and is a giver of strength (to his worshipper). (4) The ever-watchful god who is sought after (by men), has supported the heaven and the mid-air. Assisted by the Maruts and joined by our prayers [vasubhir niyutvān], he is like Vāyu's chariot (laden with riches and drawn by his mares). He is the illuminator of the nights and producer of the Sun, and like Dhīṣāṇī, gives us our share and also (additional) gifts [vājam]. (5) = 30/22.

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(1) May Indra, the powerful Bull to whom soma belongs, come here along with the Maruts and drink happily. May the capacious god be filled with these foods (i.e., the soma) and may our oblation satisfy the desire of his body, i.e., his appetite. (2) For the sake of speed, do I yoke your obedient [saparyū] horses whose loyal service [śruṣṭim] you have favoured from old days. May your horses bring you here, oh (Indra) with beautiful lips; do take this wellpressed and lovely drink. (3) Praising Indra in order that he may establish his supremacy, the (priests) have offered him (the soma), which is eager to be mixed with cow's milk and is a great helper [supāra]. Drinking soma and enjoying its wild delights, send us cows in various ways, oh impetuous god. (4) = 30/20. (5) = 30/22.

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(1) Our powerful hymns have exalted the oft-invited, praiseworthy, liberal and immortal Indra, who supports men and is glorified and encouraged [jaramāṇam] by their skilful hymns, day by day. (2) (The rivers in the form of) my hymns approach on all sides, ther; cf. III. 5. 3d. (4) *Pṛṣṭah* from *vṝpyeek*. The adj. is used of Agni at I. 98. 2 and VII. 5. 2. Compare also I. 4. 4; II. 12. 5 and VI. 22. 5 where the root *vṝpeek* is used with Indra as its object. Ludwig's emendation '*pṛṣṭhe*' for *pṛṣṭah* is therefore unnecessary, though supported by II. 30. 3.—*b.*: Indra compared with Vāyu's car. *Ratho na Vāyuk* is an asyndeton, where the gen. case is dropped. *Vasubhik* and *Niyutvān* are probably punningly used, and convey the point of similarity. Indra with Maruts and prayers is like Vāyu's car laden with riches (or other gods? Cf. I. 142. 12) and drawn by the mares.

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(1) *Tumrah* from *v̄tu* or *v̄tum* 'to grow strong'; cf. *tūtuma* at X. 50. 5d. For *tumrah* *vṝsabhhā*, cf. IV. 17. 8; 18. 10; X. 27. 2; 89. 9. (2) *Sapar* is a noun from *V̄sap*. *Stugit* is from *V̄śm* (desi.) (3) In a, supply *somanā*, or take *supāram* and *mīmikum* as adjectives of Indra. The meaning then would be 'They made Indra liberal and helpful with their milk, i.e., the soma juices mixed with milk'. -*Jyāvīshkyāya dhāyase* like *vīfrāya hantava* at 37. 5 above. -*Japayeti* is the derivative root from *v̄i*, through the verbal noun *īṣaya*.

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The hymn consists of Tēcas. The difference in point of metre and contents between them speaks against their unity. (2) *ab*; This is either

the ocean (in the form of) Indra, the powerful hero who is possessed of a hundred powers, who wins plunder, discovers the Sun and breaks the forts and is an ever-victorious, successful and powerful companion (of men). (3) The singer is honoured (by his patrons) when a heap of wealth is (to be won). Indra assists the hymns which are faultless. He feels delighted at the house of the luminous one (*i.e.*, Agni or the priest). Praise the unfailing conqueror and slayer of the arrogant foe. (4) With their hymns and songs, the priests praise you, who are the bravest among the heroes and a great warrior. Possessed of many supernatural powers, he stands to conquer. The hymn is his; he alone is its master from ancient days. (5) Many are the gifts intended for him among the mortals. The earth holds many treasures for him. The heavens, the plants, the trees and also the swift-moving rivers preserve their wealth for him. (6) These hymns and prayers are always offered to you, oh Indra, lord of the bay steeds; accept them. Being a relative, think of a new favour (for us) and grant vigour to your singers, oh divine friend. (7) Drink this soma here, oh Indra with Maruts, as you drank the pressed out juice at the sacrifice of Sāryāta. Under your guidance and protection, the poets who offer sacrifices, seek to serve you. (8) Longing for it, drink our pressed soma together with your friends, the Maruts, oh Indra; for, the Viśvedevas, *i.e.*, the Maruts, surrounded you as soon as you were born, for the great battle. (9) He is your companion in battles, oh Maruts. The liberal gods did rejoice in (the company of) Indra. May the uprooter of Vṛtra drink the pressed soma along with them, at the house of the worshipper which is his own house. (10) This (soma drink) is pressed out according to our strength, oh lord of gifts. Do drink it please, oh lover of

a Luptopāni or a Rūpaka, like 46. 4ab above. (3) *Akarat vasoh*, may also metaphorically mean Indra, who is so called at V. 34. 4. Compare also VI. 55. 3, where Pūṣan is called *vasoh rāśih*. Sāyaṇa takes *jariñ* to be Indra himself. -c : See on 34. 7 above. (4) ab : This is either an anacoluthon or an ellipsis. In the latter case, supply *arcāvī* in the first line. (5) *Niṣpidhah* from *niṣ + piddh* 'to succeed'. 4p. Cf. VI. 44. 11c. bed would show that *asya niṣpidhah* means 'gifts meant for him' and not 'gifts given by him'. A comparison of passages where the word occurs shows that it is not to be connected with the other *Vāsidh*, 1p. 'to prevent'. (6) c : or 'Be the relative of a fresh favour for us' *i.e.*, confer such a one on us. (7) For *śāryāta*, cf. I. 51. 12. (8) *Viśve devāḥ* are the Maruts; cf. I. 23. 10; V. 43. 10d; I. 89. 7; III. 14. 4; V. 31. 10 &c. cd gives the reason why Indra should bring them with him; cf. 35. 9 and 47. 3c, above. Yāska and his commentator Durga read this stanza differently (cf. Nirukta, V. 15). They read the second half of our stanza first and in the first half which they put second, they read *tāvayēṣāḥ* for *vāvaiṣāḥ* and *sajeṣāḥ* for *sutam̄ sah*. Obviously they quote from some now unknown Sākha of the

Rs. 105/- minimum, Rs. 120/- maximum and Rs. 110/- average. They were first employed there during the war time. Because there was great pressure of work at the time and less hands were available, the women clerks employed were given a good start. After the war was over the pressure of work became less, and more and more men became available. Since then women are not taken as clerks in the Post Office ; and the men clerks were going to send an appeal to the authorities as the women clerks told me—saying that women should no longer be taken as employees in the Post Office. The one Anglo-Indian clerk I came across gets a salary of Rs. 120/- per month. The information that I gathered about these clerks indicates that there is at present little scope for women in this line and that competition with men is the hardest. This situation seems to be in marked contrast with that in England where the woman Post Office clerk is the rule rather than the exception.

Typists get as a minimum Rs. 95/- per month. The highest salary given to a girl typist is Rs. 125/- ; and the average is Rs. 110/. No woman above matriculation standard has been found by me working as a typist.

About cinema actresses I have already offered my observations. To speak from the remunerative point of view only, this is the most paying line for women. A good cinema-star is even paid Rs. 2,000/- P. M. The only condition in this line is that she must become popular with the public. A girl of 16 is paid Rs. 250/- per month. But even here the lowest salary given is Rs. 30/-, barely a living wage.

As to the question of income of a stage actress, the woman I visited was not in a position to give me any information. She has formed her company only recently and hence her inability to state anything definitely with reference to her line. She, however, was frank enough to admit that her income during the last six months that her company is in existence was Rs. 12,000/- or about. Her main idea of starting this company was to show to the public how women could act the part of women on the stage without degrading themselves in any way. She would be too glad, she said, if educated women were to join her. She further remarked that the stage-actress could easily avoid certain situations which a cinema-actress is forced into in her every-day business.

The Indian nurses are paid least Rs. 30/- and Rs. 160/- as the highest. The average comes to about Rs. 55/-. The non-Indians get Rs. 105/- as the lowest, and Rs. 340/- as the highest, and Rs. 191/- as the average. Besides the salary the nurses attached to the hospitals are given boarding and lodging. Indian nurses are paid less, because it is said they are not efficient and not so well educated.

The American Missionaries are given Rs. 165/- as the lowest, Rs. 200/- as the highest, and Rs. 155/- as the average salary. Mission work is more or less philanthropic. Hence the Missionaries are paid just enough for their maintenance. They, of course, have their lodgings free.

The level of matriculate and under-matriculate woman comes nearly the same from the point of earnings, except in the case of doctors, or teachers who are principals with high qualifications and cinema-stars. Ordinarily, unless the woman is educated upto M. D. or M. A. B. T. she does not get a high income.

Having considered the income side of each employment, it follows that all other points bearing on it should be considered. It may frequently happen that a given employment is more paying but its conditions of work are hard. For example the teacher's line is equally paying with the nurse's line. But the conditions in the latter are much harder, and so the line is less popular.

Generally speaking the conditions of the work of these women were fairly good. Social workers, however, were found being put to much strain. The work being voluntary, they did not feel this strain. The case of employed women, who have to work side by side with men in business or public offices either as clerks or typists, is different. One woman told me that when she first went to the office she was treated very badly by her men-associates. They would not give her any help in her work, not even show ordinary human courtesy. They were bent upon her committing mistakes, and getting a dismissal thereon. One typist confided to me that the men-associates in the office troubled her so much that it was difficult for her even to go to the office and return. She complained to the employer who did not take any notice of the matter. At last she had to give up the employment. Such difficulties had to be faced by pioneer women : they had to go on nevertheless doing remunerative work because of their circumstances.

Then follows the question regarding the dependents whom these women have to support. Before this century women of this country from the middle and upper classes were themselves entirely dependent. But things are changing in these days.

Out of 65 educated self-earning women, 15 were supporting one or more dependents. The percentage of highly educated women having dependents was 23, as against that of 52 of the under-matriculate women. These relatively less paid women had to bear a higher burden.

The Fabian Society of London had appointed a Committee of 9 women to inquire about the "Wage-earning women and their dependents." A questionnaire of 6 questions was framed to find out

whether the women are entirely self-dependent or are supported partly by some body else, whether, on the other hand they support others. About 10% of the forms sent out were returned. The report of the investigation was published in one of the pamphlets of the Society. It gives out that "51% are not only maintaining themselves but contributing in one way or the other to the support of others."* To compare this statement with the results of my investigation is interesting. These wage-earning women in England come mostly from the labour classes while I have investigated into the condition of middle class women. The percentage of labour class supporting dependents they have found is 51, while in the present case 23% of the educated women and 52% of the under-matriculate women support one or more dependents. Does that not show the comparative poverty of the Indian people?

Lastly two questions remain to be considered. One of them is whether the single women at present employed are going to continue in employment after marriage.

Out of 51 employed single women from Group I, 14 are going to marry, out of whom, 4 women are going to discontinue employment after marriage. Two women said that it would depend upon circumstances. Two women are going to continue as they like the work, and two for economic independence. Four women have not answered this question.

Out of 34 single women in Group II, 18 said they intend to marry. Of these 8 propose to continue in employment even after marriage for the sake of their own economic independence.

Out of 9 single women from Group III, one is going to marry, and she is going to discontinue employment after marriage.

The last question is intended to find out why married women—not widows—go in for employment.

Out of 13 married employed women from Group I, 3 are earning to increase the income of the family and 5, because of their liking for the work. The remaining 5 have not answered this question.

Out of 10 married women from Group II, 5 are continuing the work more or less out of necessity. The other 5 have not answered this question.

On the whole the results from this group of questions indicate a definite tendency on the part of educated women to become independent economically, and thus trying to improve their economic condition. There are cases where the married women want to better their

*Wage-earning women and their dependents by Elgin Smith on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Fabian Women's group.

standard of living, even though the husband can just provide for the family. On the other hand, education becomes the means of earning if necessity arises at any time in the future. Women of all classes are no longer willing to endure whatever lot befalls them, and be dependent on others. Whatever little information is gathered from under-matriculate women confirms the same fact. Women seem increasingly desirous of seeking employment and thus make use of whatever little education they may be possessing. Moreover, the struggle for existence is becoming hard in a city like Bombay, forcing the women to seek work outside home.

Secondly in all professions, except that of singing, and in all avenues of employment, except that of Cinema acting, women have to compete with men some times at a disadvantage. A remark of an old lady-doctor holds true with respect to the whole field of remunerative work for women. There was a time when educated women were given preference to educated men, merely because they happen to be women. Now women must show their ability if they want to secure work at all. The law of the survival of the fittest is beginning to be rigidly applied to women as to men.

During the investigations for the present inquiry, I tried to seek personal interviews with many educated women. The printed questions were seldom fully answered. But even when

Views and opinions
of educated wo-
men.

they were, the impressions gathered from personal interview were invariably richer and more informative than all the answers put together. The number of topics discussed was not confined to

the subjects in the questionnaire but depended on the mood and willingness of the party concerned. These topics, even when they were not strictly relevant to the questionnaire, gave a most interesting side light on the general life and thought of these educated women, or their earning sisters. In the conversations we had, some women very freely gave out their opinions on economic and educational problems relating to women, besides talking about matters relating to my questionnaire. These views being interesting as well as important I have endeavoured to sort them out from my notes, and set them down here before taking a survey of the results of the inquiry.

Regarding the economic condition of women, six women definitely told me that the idea of economic independence of women was taking hold of the minds of educated women even though they were married. The women, who expressed this opinion either belonged to the Parsee or to the Gujarathi Hindu community ; and they spoke primarily of course with reference to their own communities. But as pointed out in a previous section community lines do not now-a-days

make such rigid barriers as would make of the several communities water-tight compartments. On the contrary, men and women educated upto a given level make a class or community by themselves with mutually sympathetic ideals and views, which they do not share with their co-religionists by birth. Hence I think what applies to the educated women in one community may well be taken to apply to the class at large. The above statement indicates that the tendency towards economic independence is so evident in this class that it can be marked out even by a casual observer. Another woman told me that out of necessity women are forced to seek employment ; and when they have once tasted the joy of self-sufficiency they naturally do not like to forego it afterwards. Even if the grinding poverty of India be the immediate motive for such efforts at emancipation the fact of the effort must not be denied.

Apart from this consideration of women being compelled to seek paying work, only one Hindu woman of the older generation was of opinion that she was personally against married women going out for work. They cannot, she thought, manage both the household, children and their outside work. In the conflict it is generally the former which is neglected. As against this 28 college students, who represent the present generation, remarked that they were determined to try to be independent in after life—whether married or single. Marriage and family are not considered to be utterly incompatible with personal independence.

The situation, therefore, is something like this : women are desirous of or are being forced to be economically independent on the one hand ; and on the other there is the question of the management of the house-hold and children. The two are not always mutually compatible. To solve this difficulty I enquired of an England-returned woman as to how married women over there managed both the things. In reply, she said, that much of the time of woman was saved there from domestic labour because of the labour-saving appliances used in the house. The same thing in her opinion, should be done over here. I am not sure, however, that she realised in full the poverty of the average Indian, which will not permit her to install these so-called labour-saving devices in her home. Labour here is very much cheaper than capital. All those devices cost a heavy initial capital outlay. And even when they are installed, there is no easily available occupation for the time thus saved. Hence the impracticability, for the moment at least, of this idea. About children she was unable to give any satisfactory reply. Admitting that children are neglected to a certain extent when the mother goes out seeking a living for herself, the advantages to the children of having an educated mother should not be overlooked.

Children are brought up in a better manner by educated women than their uneducated sisters. That was the opinion of two women. The idea of communal nurseries for taking charge of the children of women-workers has not yet dawned in this country even among the most highly educated women ; and I am not sure that if and when it does come, the present generation of the educated Indian women would welcome it. Even advanced thinkers like Bertrand Russel recognise the value of parental affection in the psychology of the children : and so discard the idea of relegating the childhood of the nation to institutional treatment in the one-sided desire to emancipate the mother.

Any way we are passing through a transitional stage, and the new educated woman is longing for a fuller life and greater freedom. One woman confirmed this statement saying that educated women are passing through a transitional period of old traditions questioned, of old institutions shaken, and the new ones not yet formed or established.

Three married women confided in me that the idea of a deliberate limitation of family is also influencing the minds of educated men and women. That shows the extent to which we are coming under Western ideas. The pressure of population is felt ; but the problem seems to be scarcely realised in all its fulness and complexity. For here is the salt of the earth—perhaps the most promising class for the future of the country. If women of this class refuse to marry, or marrying they still refuse to bear children, we should be depleting just that section of our society which furnishes its leaders of thought and action. It is a very small class, a mere drop in the ocean of Indian life. The deliberate limitation of its members would not solve by itself the population problem of India. But for themselves many of them may perhaps have no alternative to practising this first step to race suicide as against increasing abject poverty.

The question of the health of educated women has also an economic bearing. Five women said to me that the present system of education must be blamed for lowering the vitality of women. This seems to be also the opinion of the general public. In contrast with this, one woman said that the fault does not lie with education. On the contrary educated women are better able to appreciate the advantages of fresh air and exercise. But on the whole the health of Indian people has deteriorated and educated women cannot be exceptions. Further the reason why this thing is more remarkable amongst educated women than amongst men, is that girls are not brought up quite as carefully as boys. Hence their health is from the start neglected.

To solve this difficulty twelve of the women I met in my inquiry advocated compulsory physical training for girls in schools as well as in colleges. Arrangements must be made, they said, by the educated institutes in their vicinity to impart this sort of training ; and each girl must be compelled to take it. Others were indifferent, or had not thought about the matter.

Having finished with discussions on the above questions, it is interesting to note down the views of women on some of the educational questions of the day.

Twelve women mostly students said that they were satisfied with the present system of education for women while 11 women felt a necessity for some change in the present curriculum. They said that the secondary and higher education given to boys as well as to girls does not meet the needs of life. Much of their energy is wasted, for 11 years are needed for them to finish their secondary course. Then they have to decide upon their career in life and take further education to specialise in the same. In India the average duration of life is much less than in Europe. Hence so many years spent in education or preparation for life's career, is so much loss of productive energy to the country. The change is necessary, they said, but confessed their inability to chalk out the line.

Three women said that there should be different courses of studies for boys and girls. The latter should be on the lines of Prof. Karve's University for Indian Women. But as women have to compete with men in all fields of labour, they must be given equal opportunities and training with men.

Twenty women observed that girls should be taught domestic science in schools. This indicated, though not stated in so many words, that the only career in life for women is the home and its cares.

About co-education, I had a talk with an aged woman and her husband. Both of them were wholly against co-education. They said that co-education had bad effects on the morals and hygiene of the girls. They advocated a separate college for women where women may pursue the same studies as men. I could not quite clearly see their reasons : but I think they were impressed by the moral dangers, as they thought, of educating adolescent men and women in the same institution. In relation to the same question a woman who had taken her degree in the Madras University told me that there are two separate colleges for women in Madras. On account of this facility women's education is much advanced over there. It is, however, possible to afford this facility only in provinc-

es where sufficient women are already so highly educated as to be able to supply the staff needed for such a separate women's college. For such an institution could not meet its basic purpose if the teaching staff is made up wholly or largely of men. On the other hand, provinces where women's education is already advanced to that degree which will easily furnish the staff necessary for a women's college from the ranks of educated women, the need is not quite so great for such a separate college as it might be in those other provinces where customs like the Purdha continue to hamper the education of women, and where the same customs demand separate institutions, if higher education among women is to make any progress at all.

On the other hand seventy women-students have remarked that they were certainly in favour of co-education. They did not agree that its effects were disastrous on morals. They rather thought that the manners of men-students showed a great improvement by the mere presence in the same class-room of women-students. Upon the merits and demerits of the question, it would be out of place for the present writer to give an opinion.

Twenty-three out of thirty-seven medical students told me that they were in urgent need of a ladies' hostel in the vicinity of the Medical College. To say the same thing in the very words of a student "I think there is very great necessity, indeed, of having a hostel for women-students on the premises. Men-students with whom we compete, are at a much greater advantage living so near—they are able to attend casualty duty, and also emergent operations at night—we miss all this. Besides they do not waste time and energy in travelling."

Four nurses observed to me that women's education should be facilitated by special measures, like exclusive scholarships for girls. They felt for their lot because they were not sufficiently educated. I have collected all these opinions of the women I visited only to show that the new woman in India is not quite a passive being. She is fully alive to the problems of the hour ; and is not afraid to speak about them. You may or may not accept her views. But if you talk to her even for an hour you cannot help realising that in all she does she is deadly earnest and perfectly sincere.

Taking a survey of the results of my inquiry, certain definite facts revealed themselves. During the last 30 years or so

Survey of the Results. the spread of education among Indian women on western lines has made considerable strides. Though the present proportion of educated to uneducated women is 1 to 300 in a city like Bom-

bay, women of all religions and even of the backward classes within each religion, are eagerly availing themselves of every opportunity for education. Bombay City naturally shows the greatest advance in this respect. This City's advance may well be taken to be a fair index of our times all over the country.

Education has not only modified the views of women in regard to our old institutions, but it has radically changed their outlook on life. Either they want to remain unmarried, or they desire postponing marriage till they are 23 or 24 years old. Various factors are at the same time operating to undermine the old institution of the joint Hindu family, and educated women are welcoming the change. Moreover, a social consciousness has dawned in the minds of these women which incites them to work for the uplift of their country in general and for their sisters in particular.

Apart from the revolt against ancient social institutions such as marriage and family, the spirit of independence has taken hold of educated women. Freedom of thought has made them feel that they should develop their personality. To attain this aim, they must come out of home and struggle with the outside world. "We claim to-day, all labour for our province" * that is the demand of the new woman. Power of the purse, they realise, is the key to success in the world. Hence the new woman's struggle to free herself from economic dependence on man. Opportunities for a remunerative use of their services are presenting themselves under modern conditions. Women, therefore, are to be seen competing with men in almost all fields of economic and social activities.

Another factor of a more forcible character is working for women's economic independence. The mere struggle for existence—especially marked in a city like Bombay—is driving women away from their home to seek remunerative work. As can be seen from the conditions of under-matriculate women, whatever little education they have, or whatever natural ability they possess, they utilise in earning a livelihood for themselves or adding to the family budget.

The struggle for such assertion of woman's rights is not easy. At home she is usually surrounded by people living still under old traditions. Herself, she is not free from the same influence. But new ideals of life implanted in her mind, are forcing her to break the old shackles of dependence. All this was visible through the talk the women had with me about their private troubles. Outside home, the situation is not a whit better. She is not received with a sympathe-

* *Woman and Labour*—Olive Schreiner, p. 203.

tic attitude by her men-associates except where the women hold responsible and high positions.

Such is the position of educated women to-day. It would not be out of place to take a brief note of some of the arguments advanced on woman's economic independence.

Let us first consider the argument generally advanced by conservative people. They form as yet the majority of the Indian people. The opposition to the recent Sarda Act reveals to what extent this sort of opinion has a hold on the Indian mind. They look with a suspicious eye at the new awakening of woman. They put forward the plea that Western ideals of living are uncongenial to the Indian soil, what is old is gold they say. Indian civilisation has survived for centuries. Without there being something permanent and beneficial in the old ideals, it would never have borne with success the onslaughts of other civilisations. So far the woman's sphere of labour has been her home and her children. Life went on smoothly under these arrangements. Why then, they ask, should we have this clash between man and woman, arising out of the revolt of woman? With these fixed notions in mind they oppose in every possible way that lies within their power, the advance of women.

The general national awakening that has taken place in India, is also looking, I think, askance at the new position that woman is struggling to secure. Not that it holds that women should not be educated. Neither does it grudge equal social position to women. On the contrary, this new awakening seeks the help of women in the struggle for freedom. But I think on the whole it tends to believe that woman's sphere of work is quite different from that of man. That is why some of the apostles of India's freedom advocate special and exclusive courses of education for women in separate women's Universities and Colleges.

Thirdly even some educated women seem to fear that in this way women would be encroaching upon the men's field of work. At present the unemployment problem for middle class educated people is very hard. Why should women aggravate it by taking away from men whatever jobs that are available? Might not that create a needless antagonism between the sexes? They feel that there is no urgent need for middle class women to go in for remunerative work outside their home; that their home would and should occupy all their time and energy; and that in that way alone could the sum total of our national happiness be promoted.

No one can deny, having studied our ancient literature and the old ideals of life and social organisation, that India had once attain-

ed to a high degree of civilisation. The modes of living were chalked out with the ulterior aim of social progress. In course of time slow unperceived changes occurred on account of political domination of the country by other races, with radically different social ideals. Culture became the monopoly of a few men, and women were wholly excluded. These forces acting and reacting brought society to a standstill. We are even now not passed the period of national stagnation. We are living indeed. But the life we lead is not a healthy one, but that of an old man every moment gasping for breath. Under such conditions we should not discard any change simply because it is coming from abroad. Whatever is good and wherever it is to be had, it should be welcomed. Adaptation and not elimination should be the rule. Besides in the competition with the West, unless we are equal combatants in every respect, we stand no chance of success. And what is the modern woman demanding? She is demanding the right of developing her personality. Her desire for economic independence is one way for achieving the ideal. If women attain a higher level as human beings by emancipating themselves from the ancient bondage and refuse to be immured in sheltered homes, they will surely become good wives or mothers as well as better women. This is clearly evident from the survey of the Woman Movement in the West. The degree of advancement or emancipation and power over the world that the Westerners have attained would not have been possible if women had remained backward as in the past. "A mother economically free, a world-servant instead of a house-servant, a mother knowing the world and living in it,—can be to her children far more than has ever been possible before."^{*}

Next, in answer to the argument that employed women are aggravating the unemployment problem of the middle class men, it may be said that the cause of this problem lies somewhere else. On account of various reasons there are not sufficient productive industries in India. It is impossible under the present economic system to carry on industries on old lines. New fields of labour are not available. How can a few more women that are seeking employment be blamed for that? The problem of unemployment is not denied. Only the blame does not lie with women.

Further it may be said, admitting so far that women's labour should be utilised productively, what about the responsibility for the continuance of race that Nature has allotted to Woman? On the face of it, this question is unanswerable. To do full justice to it is out of place here. But briefly it may be said that even this function does

* *Women and economics* by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, p. 269.

not occupy the whole life-time of woman. And whatever period of life is devoted to this woman's essential duty, the whole time even during that period need not be spent on bearing and rearing children. What happens at present is this. Under this pretext women are debarred from any other work. That mars or mutilates their individuality. Apart from this fact, the loss arising out of so much wastage of productive energy of woman is not realised at all by the opponents of Woman's Movement. Women not utilising their ability and services to the fullest are so much burden on society.

These are a few reflections which I have put down as they occur to me as a result of my discussions with the educated and thoughtful women I came in contact with. They are necessarily disjointed, for this is not an attempt to give a synthetic picture of the Woman Movement in India. But I think they will serve to throw interesting sidelight on the question. More than that I have no intention to claim, and will, I trust, not be expected of me.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

TENNYSON.

The Industrial Revolution of the 19th century has changed the whole aspect of the world. Wherever it has taken place, it has changed the mode of life. New forces have come into existence. Human society has come to be divided into capitalist and labour classes. Constant friction has arisen between the two. The same forces have penetrated all classes and changed the relations between the sexes. Woman has found or is seeking for herself a new position in the modern social organisation.

These upheavals are going on all over the world and India is no exception to it. With the arrival of Industrial Revolution in India all these accompanying characteristics have manifested themselves in Indian Society. Labour unrest has spread all over India. Youth is revolting against the authority of age and tradition. And woman's awakening in India has at last come as a kind of coping stone for the whole upheaval and as part of the Woman Movement of the world.

To survey all aspects of woman's awakening in India is beyond the capacity of a single individual. I have, therefore, confined myself to the City of Bombay and therein also to the educated class of women. In that class I have taken their economic condition as an index of their awakening in this country.

The results of the investigation indicate that educated woman is no longer satisfied with her former status of a lifelong dependence. The desire for independence may not be universally vocal or consciously formed, but even the restricted survey attempted in this thesis makes the presence of that desire indisputably clear. Woman is struggling hard to better her position by all means within her power. Whatever success she has achieved in the attempt at bettering her economic condition, has given her a new impetus to move forward. She thinks freely and independently and increasingly wants to determine her own career for herself. The advantages of education for women, cultural as well as utilitarian, personal as well as for the race, are being widely recognised, even among classes themselves not educated, and notwithstanding the possible danger that educated woman may not remain content with her traditional position of dependence. The analysis of individual cases given in the preceding pages makes that abundantly clear.

All this struggle of women for the assertion of her independence has reacted silently on social institutions. This aspect has also been dealt with as far as it lay within my power. The economic conditions, for women to-day, are better than what they were before. Marriage now no longer takes place, at least in this class, in early years, and more often than not it is a matter of personal choice rather than of parental arrangement. It becomes more and more an equal partnership of affectionate persons rather than forced association of mentally divergent units. Even after marriage and within the family, the personality of the new woman has greater chance for self-expression than under the older system though that system is by no means dead or universally unacceptable even to the new woman.

It may be said that this class of woman is in a minority and will be in a minority for a long time to come. When in India education will be given on universal basis the newly educated woman will have a greater scope. It is not possible nor profitable to probe far off into the future. What we call to-day a highly westernised woman may become an exception. But modern woman will not retreat from her hard-won ground of personal independence. It is not possible in Indian society to eliminate the modern woman as she has taken a deep root. Neither is it possible for India to resist or to keep aloof from world forces or world movements.

The present investigation is only an attempt at bringing into light the facts relating to the economic conditions of educated women. Even at the risk of repetition it must be added a definite change has taken place in the economic condition and personal social status of woman. Whether this change will prove to be of ulterior

benefit to Indian society or not, it is not the purpose of this thesis to say. The investigation has indicated that the change is deep and vital, and that the time has arrived when the entire question of women's new position needs to be synthetically and sympathetically considered.

(Mrs.) C. A. HATE.



INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS¹

Of all the doctrines of the Classical school of Economists the doctrine of International Trade is the only one which has come down to posterity quite intact in its fundamentals. All attempts to break new ground in this field of Economic Theory even with the help of the modern developed "technique of thinking" have resulted at the most in a slight modification of the form in which the theory was originally stated. No wonder then that the latest publication of the famous series of Cambridge Economic Handbooks—International Economics by R. F. Harrod—which treats this topic takes the main classical position in this sphere as "inexpugnable," "but complete freedom is used in the mode in which established doctrines are set out."²

Harrod's exposition of the theory of International trade is different from that of his predecessors in the field. He follows what he terms the "test method of approach"—the question is asked what are the conditions in which trade takes such a course, that the purposes for which trade is admittedly undertaken are most fully realized.³ In answer to this question he explains the Richardian theory of comparative Costs and gives illustration of the measurement of gains in terms of saving in costs. Briefly stated, according to Mr. Harrod, the conditions of possible maximum benefit from international trade to a country, say, England, are :—

- (1) "The gain from trade will be greater the more the ratios of the costs of production in England and abroad differ."
- (2) "The bigger the rest of the world is relatively to ourselves, i.e. England, the greater the gain from trade."⁴
- (3) "Any reduction in transporting costs or in the difficulty of selling in foreign markets or in the difficulty which a foreigner has in selling in our markets enlarges the possible sphere of gainful foreign trade."
- (4) "The lower the gradient of the demand and cost curves over the relevant range of output, the greater the gain from foreign trade."⁵

1 *International Economics* by R. F. Harrod. (Cambridge Economic Handbook series, Nisbet & Co.)

2 Page 4.

3 Page 3.

4 Page 40.

5 Page 42.

These conditions and consequently the maximum gain from International Trade will be actually realized by a country if it adopts the policy of free trade, if the rewards charged by the factors of production for services embodying a given degree of effort and skill are the same in her different occupations, and if her producers are willing to push production of their various wares to the point at which the money costs of production are proportional to the prices which they can obtain, so that the ratios of the real costs of production of the various goods are equal to the ratios of the prices of the various goods in the world generally.¹

In the exposition of the doctrine of comparative costs though the author has followed the conventional method of starting with two countries and two commodities he is quite unconventional in its further elucidation. He does not bother himself over the selection of a unit for measuring the costs of production of these two commodities in each country, it being presupposed that the different kinds of costs, e. g., labour skilled and unskilled, waiting, use of mines and lands etc., can be measured against each other in the same country.

By adopting the Richardsonian method of measuring costs of production in terms of labour the earlier writers on the theory of International Trade including Prof. Taussig are prone to mislead the reader into believing that the units of labour in the two countries are directly comparable and thus to divert his attention from the main principle. Besides, often it unnecessarily gives rise to a suspicion that the writers believe in a labour theory of value. Thus Harrod's selection of X and Y—any units—as units for measuring costs of production of the commodities in the two countries removes an eternal source of misunderstanding and focusses the attention of the student on the fundamental principle—comparison of the relative costs of production of the commodities in the two countries. International exchange of commodities can take place only if the ratios of the costs of production of the two commodities measured in terms of X and Y are different and thus exchange can with advantage be continued till the ratios of the costs of production are the same in both the countries. This of course, assumes the Law of Diminishing Returns.

Similarly, in calculating the gain from foreign trade accruing to a country, Harrod makes a slight deviation from the Classical tradition, with advantage. Firstly, as regards the basic assumption, whereas the Classical writers started with 'constant costs' Harrod assumes the law of 'diminishing returns' as more truly representative of the actual phenomenon of production. Secondly, he makes use of the conception of the 'cost and demand gradients' instead of the 'elasticity

1. Pages 44, 45.

of supply and demand' to present an estimation of the gain of international trade. This involves some sacrifice of logical precision—since elasticity strictly speaking is not gradient but the rate of change of the gradient—but it is more than compensated by the correct knowledge it helps one to acquire of the way in which gain from foreign trade should be assessed. J. S. Mill and the writers after him, laid great stress on shifts in the ratio of international interchange as the indices of improvement or deterioration in the profitability of foreign trade. But a change in this ratio is always a bad indication by itself of the resulting change in the profitability of foreign trade. Invariably it has to be considered in relation to the volume of foreign trade to get the correct idea of its effects on the total gains from foreign trade. The elasticity of supply and demand has been considered by J. S. Mill and his followers only with reference to its effects on the ratio of international interchange, its repercussions on the volume of trade being ignored. The conception of the gradient unlike that of elasticity not only indicates the change in the ratio of international interchange but also the change in the volume of trade to which it is applicable and to that extent compensates for the sacrifice of logical precision involved.

After having considered the conditions for the best possible distribution of the productive resources of a country among different occupations, Harrod turns his attention to an allied question, viz., "what are the circumstances in which a nation will be able to make full use of her productive resources," a question which did not engage the attention of the Classical writers. The economic goal of a country cannot be merely the best distribution of her productive resources, but the best distribution compatible with a reasonably full employment. The volume of employment is as important to her as its nature and since both are influenced by changes in the volume and nature of international trade, it is essential to know the conditions under which it may be carried on with the assurance of a reasonably full employment for the productive resources of a country. As a preliminary to a consideration of this question Harrod supplies us a brief analysis of the relations of the different "national price levels"—the prices of 'A' goods, 'B' goods and 'C' goods—to each other. "A" goods are the staple goods of homogeneous character capable of entering into foreign trade. This class consists in the main of raw materials and foodstuffs.¹ The 'B' goods are those finished or half finished products which embody a large amount of labour and which are apt to be somewhat specialized in character, differing in quality

1. Page 59.
2. Page 59.

and detail of design according to the place in which the manufacturing process is carried out.¹ The goods and services which are incapable of entering into foreign trade are the 'C' goods. Factors of production belong to this last group and as such there is no world price level for them. The national price levels of these factors are proportional to their efficiency in making A & B commodities.

If these price levels—rewards to factors of production—are maintained in a given relation to the world level of A & B *prices* a reasonably full employment for the productive resources of a country can be secured. However,—under a gold standard regime—in case of a disturbance to the country's international balance of payments resulting either from a fall in the demand for her exports or from the emergence of an era of capital exports the full employment position can be maintained only by a downward adjustment in the rewards to factors of production. If the factors are not amenable to such adjustment the prospects of unemployment loom large. Furthermore, if the passive balance consequent upon the disturbance of equilibrium conditions is considerable it will necessitate some measure of internal deflation, entailing a further addition to unemployment in the transition and a more lasting further addition if the world generally becomes infected with deflation.²

When the gold standard is abandoned and when the monetary authorities are not obliged to maintain the foreign exchange rates at a fixed par a manipulation of the foreign exchange rate can absorb the whole force of the factor disturbing the balance of payments and there will be no fear of unemployment or a necessity of reducing the money rewards to factors of production³. Here the adjustment of rewards will have been indirectly affected by a reduction in the value of the domestic currency itself.

In setting out this mechanism of adjustment Harrod is quite original, but his originality in fitting up this "apparatus of mind" with modern tools, instead of increasing its utility has lessened it considerably. The fault lies in his new analysis of the national price levels. The term itself which is conventionally used to denote the general level of prices in each country is less happy than the one which is in current use, viz. the "sectional price levels." Harrod's national price levels comprise the prices of raw materials and foodstuffs entering into foreign trade, prices of manufactured goods entering into foreign trade and the prices of domestic goods, which as explained before are classified as 'A' goods, 'B' goods and 'C' goods respectively.

1. Page 60.

2. Page 137.

3. Page 138.

'A' goods and 'B' goods both come under the category of international goods, the only distinguishing factor being 'that the market for 'A' goods is better organized than for 'B' goods'. In itself this classification of international goods is indeed an admirable one bringing out as it does the difference in the conditions of their production. But for explaining the mechanism, through which disturbances to the equilibrium of balance of payments are absorbed by the productive organization of the country, it is inconvenient. If responsibility of restoring the equilibrium were to rest solely on a single country the adjustments of rewards to factors of production in industries producing international goods would have been the only way of achieving it and a classification of international goods into export commodities and import commodities would have been unnecessary. But generally disturbances to the equilibrium of payments whether originating from an export of capital or a fall in foreign demand for export commodities or any other factor are absorbed though mainly by the productive organization of the country directly concerned also by others indirectly connected.

For example let us consider the disturbance caused to a country's balance of payments by the emergence of an era of foreign lendings. In the first instance this will result in a net passive balance equal to the amount of new foreign lending which will have to be met by gold exports. It will, however, set the whole machinery of readjustment in motion. The spendable income in the lending country will decrease, its purchases of domestic goods and international goods would follow suit, prices of domestic goods and exportable goods would fall and ultimately the rewards payable to the factors of production will have to be readjusted. This process will stimulate exports from the lending country till there is an excess of commodity exports over imports equal to the amount of annual foreign lending. But this excess may be the result either of an increase in foreign exports or a diminution in foreign imports or both. For the country receiving the loans will have an increase in its spendable income which by a process opposite to the one outlined above raises the prices of its exportable goods—imports of the lending country—and diminishes their volume. This mechanism can only be explained if the goods are classified as exported goods, imported goods and domestic goods—and not as 'A' goods, 'B' goods and 'C' goods where the imported goods and the exported goods are combined in their respective categories.

Finally, to apply Harrod's own test of judging a 'system', that of fulfilment of the purpose which gave rise to it, one is constrained to remark that his discourse does not entirely satisfy it.¹ The "simple

¹ Harrod states the purpose of his writing as follows :—"The purpose of this book is more precise and definite. As a Preliminary to understand-

fundamental truths" about international economic relations which the author wants to expound are often lost in the welter of details which enhance the inherent complexity of the subject. It is only with strenuous efforts that one is able to discover the link between the successive chapters and especially the link between the monetary and the non-monetary portions is far too weak. As a result the unity of the whole phenomenon is not brought out as clearly as it should have been and the fundamental truths even when one has grasped them appear to be very loosely connected. Besides, far too much knowledge is assumed on the part of the reader than the object of the series can justify.

Y. S. PANDIT.



ing a right the inner nature of particular events or to forming an intelligent opinion on matters of current controversy, it is necessary first to be apprised of certain simple and fundamental truths about international economic relations in general. It is to expound and elucidate these that an attempt is made here." (p. 1).

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC LIFE IN SIND.

I

Sind is the valley of the river Indus. The river originally used to be designated as Sindhu. How the name got converted to Indus has perplexed the learned ; according to Raverty¹, the name Indus was and is unknown to Oriental geographers and historians. It was Europeanized... by the Greeks out of Sindhu. Tod thought Sindhu a purely Tartar or Scythic name. Abbott² thinks that the name Indus was really taken from the Persians by the Greeks and by them passed on to the Romans, who gave it with fresh sanction to the western world ; that "Indus in fine is not a Hellenization of Sindhu, but Persian title denuded of its aspirate." Another explanation given is by Aitken, in the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*. "The letter S," says he, "is elusive and there are many in Cutch who cannot pronounce it to this day : they turn it into an aspirate." Whatever may be the correct explanation, it is interesting to note that Sind has given its name 'Sindu' or 'Hindu' to the whole of India. Burton³ described the province as the unhappy valley and a later historian (Abbott) in his re-interpretation of the unhappy valley thinks that this title of grimdest promise given to it by Burton has done more than any conquest or travel to draw the valley from its retirement into the range of general knowledge. In recent years the question of forming Sind into a separate province has again drawn Sind into the limelight ; but the ignorance about Sind is as general as it is widespread. The object of this paper is briefly to give some idea of Sind, its people and their economic life—the way they earn their income and spend it. As the title suggests, this is not and cannot be a complete picture of the economic life of the people. By its very nature the paper aims at giving a few sketches of the economic life of Sind.

The British conquest of Sind may be said to mark the beginning

1. Raverty—*The Mikran of Sind* (J. R. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1892, p. 156).

2. Abbott—*Sind or a re-interpretation of the Unhappy Valley*, Oxford Univ. Press, p. 23.

3. Richard F. Burton—*Sind or the Unhappy Valley* (London : Bentley). Burton visited Sind first in 1848. His book was published in two volumes in 1851. He paid a visit to Sind again in the spring of 1876 and he published in 1877 "Sind Revisited" including in it whatever was of enduring interest from the earlier book.

of an era of change and in the course of ninety years of British rule, Sind has undergone a remarkable transformation. The unhappy valley of Burton's days (1848), the land of Shikargahs has been transformed into a land of flowing canals and flying aeroplanes. In any consideration of economic life in Sind, it is therefore necessary to visualize the economic condition of the people just on the eve of the British conquest of Sind and trace the course of changes to the present day. The conquest furnishes a convenient dividing point inasmuch as there is no record of economic life in the period preceding the rule of the Amirs. Sind has been unfortunate in its records and in consequence of the limitations of her *materia historica* an economic history of the people for an earlier period will have to be based largely on conjecture and speculation. There are letters received by the East India Company from servants in the East relating to Sind in the seventeenth century¹; Sir William Foster's² 12 vols. of *English Factories in India*, 1618-1662, also contain some information about Sind; but these are hardly sufficient to reconstruct a picture of the economic life of the people in that period. There is, however, material sufficient to give us an idea of the economic life of the people just on the eve of the British conquest of Sind. Most of this material has been collected in the two volumes of Miscellaneous Information connected with the province of Sind³ and the Pre-mutiny records of the Commissioner-in-Sind⁴. Add to this the information obtained by Pottinger⁵, Burnes⁶, Nathan Crow and Postans⁷ and the picture is fairly complete.

But before we proceed with the description of the economic life of the people, it is necessary to have some idea of the physical aspect of the country, the texture and the quality of the soil, the flora and the fauna, as also the mineral products of the province. Economic life is always dependent upon the physical features and the natural resources of the part of country concerned. Man can utilise them and improve upon them. But in the last analysis these are largely responsible for the backwardness or otherwise of the people and determine how far the people shall remain agricultural or industrial, poor or rich.

1 Abbott—Preface.

2 Letters received by E. I. Company, 6 vols., 1602-1617.

3 Foster—*English Factories in India*, 12 volumes.

4 Bombay Government Records of 1855 (No. XVII—New Series).

5 Vide Alphabetical Catalogue of the contents—1931.

6 Travels in Baluchistan and Scinde by Sir Hen. Pottinger, 1816.

7 Narrative of a personal visit to the Court of Sind 1831.

8 Personal Observations on Sind by Capt. T. Postans 1943.

AREA AND CONTOUR

The area of Sind, including only the British districts and excluding the native state of Khairpur, according to the latest Census Report¹ is 46,878 square miles. In 1921, the area was recorded as 46,506 square miles, the loss of 128 miles is reported to be due to the action of the river Indus largely in the Karachi district. The province is situated in the north-western corner of India; to the east of the province are the native states of Marwar, Jaisalmer and Bahawalpur, to the north a part of the Punjab and the kingdom of Kela²; the western side is bounded by the ridge of mountains known as the Khirthar range and on the south there is the Arabian sea and the desert Rann of Cutch. The province lies between 23°35' to 28° 31' North Latitude and from 66° 42' to 71° 10' East Longitude³.

Sind is traditionally divided into three parts viz. *Siro* or Upper Sind, from Jacobabad to Larkana, *Vicholo* middle Sind, from Larkana to Hyderabad and *Lor* or Lower Sind from Hyderabad to the sea. From the point of view of irrigation Sind is divided⁴ into three parts : (A) the area which falls under the command of Lloyd Barrage and canals, (B) Upper Sind, and (C) Lower Sind.

RIVER INDUS

The characteristic feature of the province is the river Indus which flows through its centre and the canals which take out from the river. "Like Egypt," says Postans⁵, "Sind is the gift of the river, permeating its whole extent and fertilising its valley". Indeed Sind has been called "Young Egypt"⁶. Burton⁷ however regards the title as "a favourite sobriquet for the unhappy valley, originating from an official proclamation which announced the new conquest to be equal to Egypt in fertility." Certainly, he adds, many parts remind one much of Amron's despatch to the Caliph Umar, in which he describes the land of the Nile as successively appearing a desert, a lake and a flower garden. There may be "nothing more whimsical than the general and superficial likeness of Nature in the two 'gifts of the sea', Nile-land and Indus-land"⁸ but the fact remains that Sind has been created and sustained by the river Indus, without which it would be a desert. The length of the river is 1800 miles and for nearly a

1 Census of India 1931, Volume VIII.—Part I. (Bombay Presidency).

2 Balchand Dayaram—*A Short History of Sind*, 1919.

3 Gazetteer of the Province of Sind—Compiled by Aitken, 1907.

4 Sind and the Lloyd Barrage, fourth edition 1932.

5 *Personal Observations on Sind*—London, 1843.

6 *Wide Dry Leaves from Young Egypt* by an Ex-Political.

7 "Scinde or the Unhappy Valley" 2 vols. 1851—Bentley, London.

8 Burton—*Preface to Sind Revisited*—Vol. I. 1877.

third of that it traverses the Province. Reference may be made to the changing course of the river. There are only two stable points of the river, first the gorge at Bukkur and the other at Kotri. At both these points big bridges have been built for railway and vehicular traffic. Many reasons are assigned for the instability of the Indus. Generally it is attributed¹ to the friable nature of the soil and its extremely finely divided state on account of which water has always a large amount of silt in suspension, which in many places where the velocity falls below what is required to transport it begins to fall and rapidly forms banks and shoals.

RAINFALL

Just as the river Indus has been constantly changing its bed so there is evidence of a changing rainfall. Bernier² wrote of the years when rain did not fall in the delta; Hamilton³ found that for three years rain had not fallen at Tatta, this in 1799; Westmacott⁴ wrote that for twenty years the rains in Sind had failed and that the rayats complained of impoverishment following upon expense in binding for irrigation a river of reduced volume. There are a few examples of heavy rainfall recorded where now the rainfall is practically nil; legends of Uchch relate the rising of the river in the rainy season and the threatened destruction of the town averted by the brick of Khwaja Khizir, whilst in 1398 the rains of Multan were so heavy that the army of Amir Timur, so says *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, an autobiographical account of Timur, which lay there under his grandson, lost all its horses.⁵ Abbott quotes a tradition that the British brought back the rains; but it may be noted that on account of the Barrage a distinct monsoonish current seems to sweep over Sind and Sind is having more rains at present than it has had in the past.

SOIL

A considerable part of Sind is described as a plain occupied either by recent alluvium or wind-borne sand. That which is cultivated and subjected to irrigation is for the most part a productive alluvial soil⁶. Excepting on and at the foot of the hills and in the desert of Thar and Parkar, says the Gazetteer, all the soil of Sind is alluvial consisting of sand and clay in a fine state of pulverisation⁷. Five prin-

1 Aitken—Gazetteer of the province of Sind pp. 9-12.

2 Quoted in Abbott's *Sind* P. 16.

3 Quoted in Abbott's *Sind* P. 16.

4 Quoted in Abbott's *Sind* P. 16.

5 Quoted in Abbott's *Sind* P. 16, footnote 1.

6 Report on the condition and mode of Administration in Sind, by R. K. Pringle, Esq., 1847.

7 Gazetteer by Aitken—P. 221. Chapter on Agriculture.

This section and the following ones are largely based on Aitken,

varieties of soil are generally distinguished. Their local names are *Wariasi*, *Kacko*, *Chiki or Paki*, *Rae-Wari* and *Kalar*. These names indicate the different proportions of sand and clay in the soil affecting its consistency and porosity. *Wariasi* is loose sand deemed fit only for cultivation of melons. But if it is properly manured and watered other crops can also be grown on it. *Kacko* is the soil resulting from recent inundation ; it differs from *Wariasi* inasmuch as it has a larger proportion of alumina and iron replacing sand. The next variety is *Chiki or Paki*, hard baked soil or one which has been submerged for a long time. It is very cohesive and heavy to work and therefore is not liked by the farmers but rice, wheat and other crops do well in it. *Rae-wari* is soil enriched by the detritus of hill torrents. This soil is available chiefly for *Barani* cultivation. Lastly there is *Kalar*, soil which has an excess of salts, hence unfit for cultivation. One variety of *Kalar* is however capable of at least rice cultivation : it is known as *Mitho Kalar*. The reason is obvious. Rice requires water continuously and standing water seems to wash away most of the salt. In the desert parts of Thar and Parkar all the soil is sand but it is capable of yielding small crops of *bajri*.

FLORA

The flora of Sind belongs to the botanical region defined by Sir Joseph Hooker as "The Indus Plain including the Punjab, Sind and Rajaputana west of the Aravalli range and Jumna river, Cutch and Guzerat." Of this he says, "over the whole province a low, chiefly herbaceous vegetation of plants common to most parts of India, mixed with Oriental, African and European types, is found with thickets of shrubs and a few trees, the latter most luxuriant along the banks of rivers." The outward features of vegetation are characteristic of a rainless climate, dry atmosphere and sandy soil. The plants have usually small leaves and often enough none at all. Among plants of economic interest found in Sind may be mentioned *babul* (called here as *babur*) used for purposes of building, *Kandi* (used as a fuel), *Tali*, *Bakar* (used for lacquer ware), *Khas* (used for making combs), *Lai*, *Kirar*, *Ber* and *Nim*. Among the fibres and materials there are some used for making mats and baskets ; cotton is a growing product of Sind. Under perennial irrigation, Sind will no doubt become a very important cotton producing area as there is definite proof that cotton of superior quality can be produced in Sind more readily than elsewhere. Indigo is an age-long product of Sind ; up to the time of the British conquest of Sind, it used to be one of the chief exports of Sind. It has now declined and its cultivation is confined to the Khairpur State. The oilseeds of the province are rape and mustard, sesame and castor. The oils are used for domes-

tic purposes, some for cookery, and some for anointing the body. Sind is rich enough in grains, fruits and vegetables used for human food. *Rice*, *Bajkri*, *Juari*, *wheat*, *Jav* (Barley), *Makoi* (maize) are the prominent grains. *Matar* is grown to a large extent and is used for making *papars* or (pulse biscuits), almost a national dish in Sind. *Gram* (chana), *Mung* and *Mash*, are the pulses used as *dal*. The following fruits are cultivated, mangoes, apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, limes, figs, pomegranates and dates. A number of wild fruits like *Geduro*, *Liar* and *Ber* are also eaten.

FORESTS

The forests of Sind, approximately 1,140 square miles in extent, lie for the most part along the banks of the river Indus. The greater number of the forests are thus riverain. Inland forests as distinct from the riverain forests exist mainly in the Sukkur and Larkana districts. All the forests of Sind were originally "inundation forests." Prior to the British conquest the annual inundations were unchecked in their flow and forest growth covered all the land where the water reached. Some forests were preserved as *Shikargahs* for purposes of chase and these became the nucleus of the present Forests of Sind. The forest growth consists of a very few species of importance,¹ as the peculiar rigours of the Sind climate preclude the growth of any but the most hardy of trees. With the extremes of climate is coupled the precariousness of the water supply and the scantiness or caprice of the rainfall. These difficulties make it well nigh impossible to grow the more valuable species of trees. Should the vast area to be brought under irrigation after the Barrage affect the climate, as it seems to a small extent, it is possible that the composition of the forests may change considerably. The forest growth consists of four chief sorts of trees viz. *babul*, *kandi*, *bakan* and *lei*. Of these *babul* is the most useful. It yields an excellent timber used extensively for wheels, agricultural implements, building purposes and fuel. *Kandi* yields a good fuel but is of little use for building purposes.

The existing forests are said to be in excess of the present needs of Sind for fuel, as transport charges overland preclude fuel being carried inland economically for a greater distance than 20 miles and Sind being a particularly sparsely populated area the needs of the existing inland population for fuel are easily met from the scattered tree growth in the vast areas of revenue waste. Grazing, relatively to the number of cattle in Sind, is of small importance.

¹ *Sind and the Lloyd Barrage.* (As revised upto 31st Dec. 1931), p. 38. See also an article in the Sind Natural History Society's Journal for Sept. 34,

FISHERIES

There are probably few shores to which fish resort in greater numbers and variety than the coast of Sind. The Indus, one of the few rivers in India which flow all the year round attracts those species like the *Palla*, which breed in fresh water, while the food which its many mouths pour into sea brings together countless small fry, which are food in turn to many predaceous species. The fisher's craft has been carried on at or about Karachi since time immemorial. Dr. Day in his Report on the Sea Fish and Fisheries of India¹ enumerated 160 species of marine fishes obtained by him on the Sind coast. Only those which have some economic importance may be noted here—"Pomfret" known popularly as the "papit", "Surmai", Salmon Fish, Rock Fish and Stone Fish. Of the fish caught, all cannot be disposed off locally, hence it is salted and exported.

The fresh water fisheries of Sind are also extensive and rich. Dr. Day enumerated 64 species of fishes which are to be found in the fresh waters of Sind and there may be some more which he did not find. The most important is the *Palla* fish eaten by all classes of people with great relish. There are special cooks known as *palla* cooks. The fresh water fisheries can be brought under the control of man much more than those of the sea. They provide an indispensable source of food to many people in the province. Catching fish offers a means of livelihood to a large section of the people. Government also earns a large amount of revenue by selling the right to fish in the river, the *dhands* and the canals. Hence the importance of fresh water fisheries in the economic life of the people of this province.

MINERAL PRODUCTS

The mineral products of Sind are limited, both in number and quantity. Some may however be mentioned, viz., alum, (manufactured out of a kind of shale, beds of which are found in Khirthar hills) building stone, carbonate of soda, fuller's earth, gypsum, lime and salt. Building stone is found in the hilly parts. The best is light yellowish-brown found in the Ranikot beds. The porous yellowish lime stone used in Karachi for building houses is obtained from Ghizri. Carbonate of Soda is sold under the name of *Chamko* and is used in making pulse biscuits called *papars*. This is found in the dry beds of some of the *dhands* the water of which is impregnated with Carbonate of soda, instead of, or in combination with, common salt. A crude Carbonate of Soda known as *Khar* is also much used in Sind. Coal was discovered in a place near Kotri

¹ Quoted in the Gazetteer of Sind by Aitken p. 67.

in 1857 ; but on a survey being made it was found that there was nothing which could properly be called a Coal seam ; the quality also was inferior. Fuller's earth or *met* as it is called is found near Rohri, Hyderabad, Jherruck and Tatta. But the *met* found on Ganjo hills near Hyderabad is described to be the best. It is much used by the people as a substitute for Soap. Gypsum or "Chirok" as it is called is abundant in Sind. Iron ore of a kind is found in some places in Sind but it does not appear to be profitable to smelt it on account of the cheapness of imported iron. Limestone for making lime is found in many places, Sukkur being one of the principal centres of the industry. Salt deposits are found in Karachi as well as Thar and Parkar districts. The former are formed by evaporation of sea water; the latter are fed by springs or rain water. They become impregnated with salt to the point of saturation, so that as the water is condensed by evaporation, the salt is deposited at the bottom in a mass which may attain a depth of several feet. At Saram, a place near Diglo in Thar and Parkar district there is a famous deposit and it yields nearly 15,000 maunds annually without showing any signs of exhaustion. It has been estimated¹ that these salt deposits in Thar and Parkar district can meet a much larger demand than that of the people of Sind. *Kalar* soil from which salt can be extracted by simply pouring water through it and evaporating it is abundant in most parts of Sind and was one of the principal sources of supply before the British occupation of Sind in 1843.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing survey of the soil and mineral resources of Sind makes out Sind to be pre-eminently an agricultural province. Arts and industries support but a small proportion of the people. The possibilities of industrial development on any large scale seem to be remote. Nature does not seem to have been very favourable to this province nor on the other hand can it be accused of having been too niggardly. The river Indus is indeed Mother Nature's greatest gift to this province. Now that the waters of that mighty river have been harnessed and put to agricultural use, Sind bids fair to be one of the prominent agricultural areas of the country. Burton's phrase 'the unhappy valley' lingers long in the memory of the travellers but as Abbott² pointed out ten years ago, "Travellers' tales are like the sayings of the blind men who attempted to describe an elephant. Sind even more than India has suffered from the blindness of travel.

1. In an article in the *Hindu* (a Vernacular daily), some years ago, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram described the Salt deposits of Sind.

2. J. Abbott, I.C.S., B.A. (Oxon): *Sind—A Re-interpretation of the Unhappy Valley*, p. 6.

The Greek saw little more than the river and the parts it overflowed in season and so found a utopia in the valley. The Early Europeans to reach the valley, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in turn saw little further than the precincts of Tatta, many went no further than her ports upon the sea and so Sind became again a coveted land." Writing in 1924, Abbott said, "To-day she is judged by the desert which shields her around from hasty approach...and it would seem almost as if she had thrown off some of the chains of confinement only to fetter herself more firmly with an ill earned name." In 1934, with the rich heritage of the Barrag^{an} and its many canals holding out prospects of greatly increased cultivation, Sind lays absolutely a different claim to fame.

H. C. MALKANI



A CENTRAL RESERVE BANK FOR INDIA

CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED IN THE STUDY ON RESERVE BANK

Let us enumerate some of the recognised principles on which a Central Bank should be constituted in India. They may be summarised as :—

- (1) The sole power and control of note issue.
- (2) Mobilisation and liquidity of resources.
- (3) A Bankers' Bank giving rediscounting facilities.
- (4) Timely assistance to banks in the hour of need.
- (5) Concentration and management of gold reserves.
- (6) The Control of balances and reserves of the entire country, including Government balances deposited both in and outside India.
- (7) The management of the remittance programme of the Government.
- (8) The maintenance of the stability of the gold value of the rupee.
- (9) Open market operations and competition with commercial banks so as to make its policy effective, but no competition with them for profit. *
- (10) Management of the Public Debt.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE ATTACHING THE BANK

To these recognised principles we may add one more, which has formed the subject of controversy in India for some years past, so far as it relates to the question of the Reserve Bank's constitution. It is—the Central Bank to remain free from Government or political influence. The Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference recommended that "with a view to ensuring confidence in the management of credit and currency....efforts should be made to establish on sure foundations and free from any 'political influence', as early as may be found possible, a Reserve Bank, which will be entrusted with the management of the currency and exchange." The Brussels Conference Resolution of 1920 also while favouring the creation of independent Central Banks endorsed the view that "Banks and especially a Bank of Issue should be freed from political pressure and should be conducted solely on the lines of prudent finance." In the same connection Dr. Kemmerer's Commission of American

Financial Experts on the Bank of Poland said, "Central Banks of issue often become subjects of political controversy and of strong political animosities, and further, that the greatest single danger to central banks is probably the danger of political exploitation". Avowedly to avoid the danger of political exploitation, the principle was accepted by the Indian Legislature as put forward by the Select Committee of 1933 on Indian Reserve Bank legislation that the Bank should be free from any political influence. And in order to attain this object, the practical experience of other countries was to be followed, *viz.*, that the capital of the Bank should be held by private shareholders.

But if the professions of the Government that the Bank is to remain independent from political and other influences are to prove correct, a test of the sincerity of these professions would be found in the kind of personnel appointed to run this Bank. Under the Reserve Bank Act, 1934, all the chief appointments are to be made by the Government and almost all the essential powers are centralised in the hands of the Governor-General in Council. Though the Act denies the influence of Indian politicians, it has not attempted to remove the political influence of the Secretary of State. The latter is as much influenced by politics as the members of the Indian legislature and hence the Secretary of State's domination in the conduct of the Reserve Bank does not secure the freedom from political influence, which is claimed by the Government.

RESERVE BANK VIS-A-VIS THE IMPERIAL BANK

It was once thought that the Imperial Bank would serve as a State bank, but experience refutes the wisdom of such an ill-considered change. A bank which is mainly a private corporation frankly out to seek profits, can hardly be relied upon to meet adequately the requirements of a true Central bank. If the Imperial Bank had taken up the rôle of a central bank, it would have been precluded from performing the functions of a commercial bank. Thus limited, it would have ceased to be the channel by which the joint-stock banking organisation could be developed.

However, the Governor of the Imperial Bank of India while giving evidence before the Banking Committee was not slow to favour the idea of the Imperial Bank being converted into a Central Bank or failing that, to retain at least the outstanding position of the Imperial Bank as against the other joint-stock banks by conferring special privilege on it and investing it with 'Status' and 'responsibility.' In his oral evidence (P. 1109 of volume III), Sir Osborne Smith, in answer to the question—"If it was decided that the Reserve Bank should be a separate institution, is there any need for a separate Imperial Bank

of India Act? Is there any objection to the Imperial Bank becoming an ordinary joint-stock bank under the Indian Companies Act on the same basis as any other joint-stock bank in this country?"—said:

"I do not diverge from my view that the Imperial Bank should become the Reserve Bank. Should, however, a separate Reserve Bank be established, it would be necessary for it to have agencies in the various centres, as it would be wholly unprofitable and an inequitable charge on the Central Institution to open sufficient branches for its purpose. The sole institution in India with sufficient branches to perform adequately agency duties is the Imperial Bank, and as such duties would entail the management of Currency chests, Treasuries, etc., the Imperial Bank Act suitably amended would be advisable, indeed necessary, as the Bank must have status and responsibility apart from other banks."

We however do not look with favour upon the scheme of the Imperial Bank becoming the sole agent of the Reserve Bank.¹ With the advent of the Reserve Bank, the Imperial Bank will be divested of many of the restrictions on its business. This will enable it to undertake business which it is prevented by law at present from doing. With the expansion of its business in new directions, it will secure more profits. In spite of these natural advantages and its settled and influential position made manifest through its big capital and big reserves, if the Imperial Bank is allowed special privileges and made the sole agent of the Reserve Bank at all places in India, we are afraid that it will compete with Indian joint-stock banks on unequal terms. Instead of the Imperial Bank becoming the sole agent, it would have been better if the Reserve Bank were to make suitable agency arrangements with the Imperial Bank as well as other joint-stock banks wherever possible. However, to our regret we find that the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, stipulates (section 45) that the Reserve Bank shall enter into an agreement with the Imperial Bank of India, the agreement to remain in force for fifteen years and thereafter until terminated after five years' notice on either side. It is apparent from the provisions relating to this section that the extravagant terms sought by the Imperial Bank are going to be conceded, to the ultimate detriment of the other joint-stock banks.

The Imperial Bank to do the agency business of the Reserve Bank, to conduct Government account at its upcountry branches and to receive commission from the Reserve Bank on the turnover, to obtain free and cheap balances at privileged rates of interest from the Reserve Bank, to get the restrictions on its foreign exchange business annulled

¹ The terms are set out in the Third Schedule relating to Section 45 of the Reserve Bank Act, 1934.

—these are facilities and privileges meant to be extended to the Imperial Bank, enabling it to maintain its present position of prestige even when the Reserve Bank comes into being. It is strange that when the Imperial Bank becomes free and unencumbered in its sphere of activity as any other commercial bank, on the Central Bank being established, it should still enjoy privileges not to be shared by other banks. This involves injustice to other banks which are bound to be anaemic through severe competition from the Imperial Bank. One of the aims of the Reserve Bank should be an all-round development of the Indian Banking machinery and not that it should select and single out one banking institution from amongst many, to be invested with special powers and privileges.

From this it can be inferred that the superior position allowed to the Imperial Bank over other joint-stock banks may conflict with the best interests of indigenous banking in India. In this connection, the Managing Director of the Central Bank of India, Sir S. N. Pochkhanavala had submitted a memorandum to the Select Committee on the Reserve Bank Bill, 1933, deplored the injury to indigenous banking in India, if the Imperial Bank was allowed a special and a higher status. He made it clear that the unequal competition would prove fatal at a time when the Indian banks were not powerful enough to face it. If the Reserve Bank was to be established for the good of India, any arrangement likely to injure the interests of Indian banking ought to have been dropped.

When we advocate the distribution of agency business of the Reserve Bank between the Imperial Bank and other Indian joint-stock banks, it may be feared by some that the united system of control of Government balance will suffer, if Government transactions, instead of being concentrated in one or two hands, are scattered between various banks. This fear is more imaginary than real, inasmuch as we are not recommending for dispersion of Government balances between numerous banks, whose means are unknown, whose transactions are shady, and who have not secured stability, soundness and strength. We do understand that the unified control of Government balances is essential in order to effect economy as well as to mobilise capital by enabling the one privileged institution to transfer the balances, through currency chest, to any part of India without delay, where there is need for money. However, if it is possible to entrust the treasury work to an indigenous bank without sacrificing the advantages of a single control, there is no reason why it should not be done. If about 150 branches of the Imperial Bank can be entrusted with Government work, 8 or 10 more branches of other indigenous banks of soundest reputation doing the same work, need not interfere with the efficient control of Government balances.

THE CONTROL OF CURRENCY AND CREDIT IN THE HANDS OF A RESERVE BANK

There is a close connection between the maintenance of financial stability and a central banking organisation, and the former can be secured with the help of the latter. The concentration of reserves and the control of the money market, imperative for the mitigation and avoidance of a financial crisis, demand a central or reserve banking organisation. In America, till lately the home of decentralised banking, the Federal Reserve system was devised, in order to prevent the repetition of the catastrophe brought on during the economic crisis of 1907. "The Government" said Sir George Schuster, "remains convinced that the formation of a Central Bank to perform the functions originally proposed is desirable in order that India may be equipped with the mechanism for the control of currency and credit on the lines approved by modern experience elsewhere, and worthy of India's place among the civilisations of the world." The existing system is found defective inasmuch as the control of currency and credit instead of being concentrated in one hand remains divided. The Finance Department of the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India are responsible for currency policy and currency reserves; whereas the banking reserves are looked after by the Imperial Bank of India, which is also responsible for the credit policy of the Indian money market. Though the Imperial Bank has control of a large portion of Government balances, except a small portion in the revenue treasuries, it has no control over the sterling balances or over the currency reserves. Looking as we are from the standpoint of the development of banking in India, we cannot but find this situation most unsatisfactory, tending to weaken or even cripple the credit structure. In the absence of a uniform control, it is not possible—or if possible, it is difficult to turn into cash the maximum of assets, which would be readily done by a Reserve Bank through the rediscounting of bills. Even the Government of India in their comments in the Despatch on the proposals of the Statutory Commission dated 20th September 1931 pointed out the undesirability of the existing situation and opined that the right course for India was to follow the practice of other countries, by providing that the control of both currency and credit should be united in the hands of a central bank acting independently of Government.

As regards the control of currency and credit, it may further be noted that there is a danger of inflation in times of financial difficulties if the power of note-issue is to be in the hands of the Government. Note issue can be made safe, if it is in the hands of a non-political and

and independent body. In this connection the following observations of the Irish (Free State) Banking Commission are pertinent : "Mindful as it is of the disasters of past years in all countries where currency was issued by the Government, and recognising the hazards which come from changes of Government, from the development of budget deficits and other evils from which no country has found itself immune, the Commission is definitely of the opinion that the management of the legal tender note-issue should be placed in the hands of a non-political and independent body, which shall control the conditions of issue and shall have full control of the securities it holds."

It has been observed from time to time by men conversant with the question of currency problems that the supply of paper currency in India remains unregulated or that it falls far short of the needs of the people. If this anomaly is to be checked, a central financial institution or a Central Bank with the sole right of note-issue will have to be evolved in order to control and regulate the issue of paper currency. In other words the Central Bank should be the sole channel for the supply of legal tender currency. But if the control of currency and credit is to be complete and effective, the central bank should also be the holder of Government balances and reserves of other banks and branches in the country. The Bank of England has its largest customer in, the English Government. The Government balances with the central banks swell and contract in different periods and seasons of the year. They become large during the tax-collecting season and decrease when the interest on public debt or loans is to be paid. Next to Government, the most important of the Bank of England's customers are other bankers. The leading joint-stock banks and private banks and discount firms of London have accounts with her.

THE RELATIVE STABILITY OF PRICES

If the Reserve Bank to be established in India holds the resources of the entire country, just as we saw in the case of the Bank of England, it will be possible for it to effect a requisite contraction and expansion of currency, of which we are so much in need, particularly with a view to maintain the stability of prices. The Genoa resolutions urged on the central banks the advisability of giving due weight not merely to the question of reserve proportions but to that of price stabilisation. Unfortunately for India, when undue weight is given to the question of fixity of exchange, the more important question of stable prices is relegated into a corner. This point is very well borne out in the speech made by the President of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce at the Second Quarterly General Meeting (24th August, 1933), when he said, "If we admit that the price level

is more important than the ratio of exchange, the proposal of the Reserve Bank Committee to adhere to a fixed ratio (which would almost inevitably be the present ratio) appears to be unsound, because we have found by experience that its maintenance not infrequently forces us to adopt measures which have serious repercussions upon internal prices. Even if we concede that exchange stability should be achieved and maintained, the ratio at which it should be fixed is a matter on which Indian opinion has differed acutely from the Government. The Rupee to-day is demonstrably over-valued, and the maintenance of its artificial exchange value stands in the way of achieving what is eminently more necessary and desirable—namely, the raising of internal prices. If a higher price-level is considered necessary for economic revival, the artificially high exchange value of the Rupee is the surest device for delaying it."

Our monetary standard, known as the Gold Exchange Standard, does not secure stability of level of prices in our country, though it may secure stability in exchanges. The preservation of stable prices, in association with the maintenance of stable foreign exchanges is the aim in view, which should be closely followed by the Central Bank to be established in India. But we are afraid, the hybrid form of currency and monetary standard we are having at present are not conducive to the desired stability. Though almost all the European countries are off the gold standard at present, it may be that later they may return to the gold standard, because it is the gold standard that secures relative stability of prices, though not absolute stability. Absolute stability can never be secured by any standard, and even if it can, it would cause stagnation in the economic life of a country. Absence of violent fluctuations from year to year means relative stability, and that is all that one can desire to see in the purchasing power of money. Even if we are on a gold standard, it cannot prevent small fluctuations in the level of prices and therefore the advocates of gold standard would not suggest that its adoption will secure absolute stability. What we would like to see is this that our unit of value should not violently fluctuate at intervals of one or two years. As human society is an organism, and an organism is fraught with life, growth and change, it would not be desirable in the interests of economic development to secure absolute stability in the level of prices. Slowly rising prices are not undesirable and in a backward country like India, whose main industry is agriculture, it is desirable that there must be slow upward movement in prices.

EXPORT OF GOLD WITH A VIEW TO FIXITY OF EXCHANGE

The objective before the Hilton Young Commission was stability of exchange. But if our Reserve Bank is to be of real use to the

country, our currency and credit will have to be regulated with a desire to obtain stability in the money market, which means much more than mere stability in exchanges. It is a palpable fact that the management of our reserves is carried on with a view to fixity of exchange only, so that our currency and credit are made to depend, not upon the real needs of the people, but upon the rise or fall of exchanges. In the attempt to maintain the rupee value at 1s. 6d., which is found injurious to the interests of the country from the experience of the last eight years, the Government was obliged to resort to objectionable means like export of gold and contraction of currency from time to time. Instead of preserving and accumulating gold, on the adequacy of which the structure of a Reserve Bank would be created, the Government has frittered away our gold resources aggregating crores of rupees in order to keep exchanges at a particular level. There has been an export of nearly Rs. 150 crores worth of gold during the last two years (Sept. 1931—August 1933) in place of a normal import of Rs. 40 crores worth of gold during 1926-27 and 1927-28. The necessity of preserving gold to the extent to which it may be useful to give stability is recognised on all hands.¹

People are tempted to export gold with a view to derive high profits from the sale of gold which fetches a high price. These exports incidentally seem to come to the aid of governmental finance. But gold exports at best postpone the evil. The gold holdings of the people are not unlimited, and when the exports cease due to depleted resources, a situation of the gravest character may arise in the absence of a world recovery which is not yet in sight.

CENTRALISED RESERVES

The Hilton Young Commission of 1925 while speaking of a Central Bank for India, recommended centralisation of our reserves—the amalgamation of the paper currency and gold standard reserves. Everybody will recognise the necessity of a unity of policy in the control of currency and credit, if monetary stability is to be achieved.

¹ The Annual Market Review of Messrs. Premchand Roychand & Sons for 1932 refers to the creation of a Reserve Bank with an adequate gold backing and suggests that the policy of allowing freedom of export for gold should be reconsidered. "We offer no dogmatic opinion on this far-reaching and controversial question, but urge that the situation does not justify a policy of rigid '*laissez faire*,' and should be examined with a view to adjusting the legitimate need of the owners of gold to realise present profits with the large needs of the country in the conservation of its gold resources and whether the Government of India should not purchase themselves some of this gold to strengthen the backing of the projected Reserve Bank."

But unfortunately for India, we have a system in which the control of currency and credit is left in the hands of two distinct authorities, and the currency and banking reserves are controlled and managed separately one from the other. This does not make for a unity of policy and it also does not make for a sound credit organisation, so that ultimately the development of banking suffers. The injury emanating from a system of decentralised banking and currency reserves was well reflected in the pre-war banking of America. The financial upheavals of gigantic proportions which shook the very foundation of credit, were mainly due to the absence of a Central Bank in that country.

When we refer to centralised reserves, we imply that the reserves will be at the command of the Reserve Bank. If this is to be ensured, we cannot look with favour upon the scheme, as promulgated by the Hilton Young Commission in paragraph 145 of their report, of keeping a part of the reserves outside India. The Central Banks in some countries, no doubt, reckon certain specified credits held abroad as the equivalent of gold for the purposes of cover to their note-issue. But it must be noted that the holding by a Central Bank of assets abroad involves a degree of dependence on the stability and permanence of financial policy in that foreign country. When the financial machinery has weakened and the monetary system become unstable everywhere at present, it is a doubtful policy for India to keep a part of her reserves (which means crores of rupees) outside India. It may be said that a part of the reserves may be kept in London, the world financial centre, for the sake of economy, for settling international debt. But we apprehend that the funds kept there may be manipulated by London financiers to their own advantage and the Reserve Bank will not be able to control effectively the reserves kept far away from the centre of operation. Again any Reserve Bank, which is part of a chain dominated by a central institution in London or elsewhere, is likely to sacrifice the national interests in efforts to secure agreement on international matters, though the latter may be only of indirect concern to itself and the country it represents. Therefore the large accumulations of our funds kept in London will certainly militate against the smooth working of the management of credit and currency, which should be entirely placed in the charge of the Reserve Bank, uncontrolled and undominated by any other inside or outside agency. The only necessary control to be exercised on the Reserve Bank will be exercised by its own Board of Directors in conformity with the terms of the charter. Again for securing supply of currency and credit, for the development of agriculture, trade and industry, we want a reserve concentrated with a Central Bank, on which we can build an enormous credit superstructure. All this will necessitate the

keeping of our reserves in our own country, as we cannot hope for a healthy credit regulation in the absence of centralised reserves.¹

THE INDIGENOUS BANKERS AND THE RESERVE BANK

Again so long as our indigenous bankers or shroffs and Mahajana are left out of touch with the Reserve Bank or so to say, are not included in the category of member banks, the reserves of the country are bound to remain scattered. We regret to find that no sufficient attention is paid by those responsible for drafting the Reserve Bank Bill of 1933 to the necessity of making the indigenous bankers and shroffs a part and parcel, an integral part indeed, of the banking system of the country. In the list of Scheduled Banks coming under section 2 (e) of the Reserve Bank Act, we do not trace the presence of the indigenous bankers. This will lead to the various money markets in India remaining independent, having varying rates of interest from one another, rather than inter-dependent and co-ordinated, with more or less uniform rates of interest. The wide divergence of interest rates can only be reduced to a minimum, if the banking system of the whole country is unified, that is to say, the Shroffs, Sehukars and Mahajans, over and above the so-called scheduled banks mentioned in the 1934 Act, are attached to a central institution like the Central Reserve Bank.

Whereas the indigenous bankers are kept out of the list of member banks, and therefore deprived of facility from the Reserve Bank, which they would have normally enjoyed if they were made member banks, sufficient care is taken, to include almost all the foreign banks operating in India, in the list of scheduled banks. It is understood that the Reserve Bank will extend two kinds of facilities to its members—facilities in normal times and facilities when a banking institution finds itself in difficulties. Then the necessary corollary is that when the foreign banks will be enjoying the facilities, the indigenous bankers will not. If it was made a condition that the indigenous bankers with a capital of one or two lakhs of rupees were eligible for membership of the Reserve Bank, it would have been possible to include many of them in the list. But unfortunately no such provision is laid down to extend the facility to bankers born and bred in India.²

1 By Section 33(5) of the Reserve Bank Act of 1934, it is provided that of the gold coin and gold bullion held as assets, not less than seventeen-twentieth shall be held in British India. This makes room for a part of the assets being held outside India also.

2 Section 42(6) of the Reserve Bank Act of 1934 provides for inclusion of banks in the list, if they have a paid-up capital and reserves of an aggregate value of not less than five lakhs of rupees.

BANK RATE AND THE SUPPLY OF CURRENCY

When we talk of the necessity of obtaining stability in the level of prices, our immediate attention is drawn to the question of the discount rate, because stability in the latter is closely associated with stability in the level of prices. Also when we speak of stability of our money market, we refer to the question of the discount rate, i. e., the rate at which credit is supplied to agriculture, commerce or industry. With the present credit agency *viz.*, the Imperial Bank, it must have been noted by all that the interest rates have fluctuated very widely in different seasons of the same year. One way of doing away with the vagaries of this Bank Rate is to consolidate our reserves into a single reserve managed by a single agency independent of Government influence, called the Central Reserve Bank.

The Bank rate in India, that is, the Imperial Bank Rate has got to be distinguished from the bank rates of Central Banks of other countries, inasmuch as the bank rates of Central Banks usually denote the rates at which first class trade bills can be discounted at the Central Bank, whereas the rate published by the Imperial Bank of India denotes the rate at which it is prepared to grant demand loans against Government securities. It will, therefore, appear that the bank rate in India has much less affinity with the all-important question of discounting bills than it has in other countries. Much of the loaning in India or credit obtained, depends on the facility available through cash credits and overdrafts at higher rates of interest rather than on discounting of bills at lower rates. The amount and volume of trade bills indicative of the growth of industry and commerce in a country receive an impetus from the steady bank rate at which the bills are discounted. If the trade bills are to be revived in India, the Reserve Bank will have to make public from time to time the minimum rate at which it is prepared to buy or rediscount bills of exchange or other commercial paper eligible for purchase under its Act. The Reserve Bank shall also be instrumental in effecting desirable changes in bank reserves, gold movements and the money market, under the economic barometer of the bank rate and a wise discount policy.

One of the causes of monetary stringency in India is attributable to the heavy borrowings of Government in the money market since the War. This curtails the command of the Imperial Bank over the accumulated resources, capital and investments of the people. In absence of sufficient capital resources, which can be released for commerce and trade, the money rates tend to rise. Unless the borrowing programme of the Government is so adjusted as to cause minimum of disturbance in the money market, an institution like a Reserve

Bank will also be hampered in its efficient discharge of duty towards the people. If the Reserve Bank is to follow the model of Central Banks of other countries, then on its establishment, all control of the Secretary of State over the details of currency must automatically cease and he will have to be divested of the power of floating loans for the Government of India. If this is done, the management of the Government of India's sterling borrowings can well be looked after by the High Commissioner in consultation with the Board of the Reserve Bank or by the Reserve Bank itself directly through a London Branch.

Excepting the abnormal situation existing at present in which the Bank Rate has remained as low as 3½% for more than a year and half past, the money rates in India even under normal conditions have remained too high, giving a setback to normal business activity. The main reason for the high rate is the scarcity of capital, which is an outcome of the great penury and indigence of the people, and an inadequate supply of currency by the Government in time of need. There is a disparity in interest rates not only in different seasons of the year, but even in different centres at the same period. The violent fluctuations in the Bank Rate, we believe, can be eliminated by a Central banking agency, which would spread the available resources more evenly over the different parts of the country and the different seasons of the year.¹

We then require a stable money market in which credit and capital can be loaned without any enormous or violent fluctuation, or in which the rate of discount does not violently fluctuate as between a busy and slack season. In civilised Countries when the Bank Rate is about 2% in the slack season, it goes upto 3 or 4% only in the busy season. But in India in the busy season the rate is as high as 8 or 9% and the range of difference between the busy and slack season is also very wide. This will be illustrated by the comparative figures given below :

Bank Rate in London :—

December	1922	..	..	..	..	..	..	3%
"	1923	..	..	..	..	..	..	4%
"	1924	..	..	..	..	..	..	4%
"	1925	..	..	..	..	..	..	4½%
"	1926	..	..	..	..	..	..	5%
"	1927	..	..	..	..	..	..	4½%
"	1931	..	..	..	..	..	..	6%
"	1932	..	..	..	..	..	..	2%
"	1933	..	..	..	..	..	..	2%

1 "With the establishment of such an agency, (the Reserve Bank), the supply of additional currency against proper cover would be automatic, and the question of penal rates of interest would not arise".—(Central Banking Committee Report.)

Bank Rate of the Imperial Bank of India :—

March 1921	..	..	..	..	6 per cent
September 1921	..	..	..	..	5
March 1922	..	..	..	..	8
September 1923	..	..	..	..	4
March 1923	..	..	..	..	8
September 1923	..	..	..	..	4
March 1924	..	..	..	..	9
September 1924	..	..	..	..	5
March 1925	..	..	..	..	7
September 1925	..	..	..	..	5
March 1926	..	..	..	..	6
September 1926	..	..	..	..	4
March 1927	..	..	..	..	7
September 1927	..	..	..	..	5
March 1928	..	..	..	..	7
September 1928	..	..	..	..	5
March 1929	..	..	..	..	8
September 1929	..	..	..	..	5
March 1930	..	..	..	..	7
September 1930	..	..	..	..	5
March 1931	..	..	..	..	7
September 1931	..	..	..	..	8
March 1932	..	..	..	..	6
September 1932	..	..	..	..	4
March 1933	..	..	..	..	3½
September 1933	..	..	..	..	3½
March 1934	..	..	..	..	3½
September 1934	..	..	..	..	3½

It may be of interest to note the figures of Bank Rates in other countries also, as on 31st December 1933 :

	Bank Rates	Per cent.
Imperial Bank of India Since	16th February 1933	3½
Bank of England Since ..	30th June 1932	2
Bank of France Since ..	9th October 1931	2½
New York Fed. Reserve* Since	25th May 1933	2½
(*New York Fed. Reserve since	1st February 1934	1½)
The Reichsbank, Berlin Since	22nd September 1932	4
The Netherlands Bank Since	18th Sept. 1933	2½

The abnormal decline in the Bank Rate in India for more than a year past is attributable to heavy and unprecedented depression in trade. As such the existing interest rate of 3½ p. c. cannot be taken as representative of normal conditions obtaining in trade and industry. The low rate is also due to manipulations of Government for supporting its borrowing or loan policy.

In the case of India, the bank rate is much more artificial than natural. It is a tragedy that the bank rate goes up in India when the balance of trade is enormously in our favour. This is a total inversion of the situation in other countries. It seems paradoxical that

we should cry out due to the tight market when our country has a balance of trade in its favour. Our bank rate goes up not in consonance with economic theory. When the balance of trade is against a country and there is demand for gold to settle the debt by exporting it (gold), a country may resort to contraction. But in India it is not so.

Our money market remains unorganised due to the power of issuing notes or the power of expansion and contraction of currency remaining with the Government. In India, there is a prevention of expansion of currency rather than contraction. We want our credit regulation to be handled by a Central Bank in the wider interests of public welfare. No doubt the rate at which credit is created may be high enough to protect gold reserve and prevent inflation, but at the same time it should not be so high as to depress domestic business or act as an impediment in the way of smooth progress in trade. It may be no exaggeration to say that if the Government of India have not met our needs for a timely increase in currency, it is for fixing and maintaining the exchanges at an arbitrary rate of 1s. 6d. a rupee. Stability of exchange may be desirable, but it cannot be more important than internal stability. On the contrary, all economic authorities agree that stability of the internal purchasing and measuring functions of the rupee is of great importance.

The inflated value of Government securities at present can be ascribed to an abnormally low bank-rate obtaining for more than a year past. Therefore the meteoric rise as revealed in Government paper quotations during the last few months cannot be taken as the result of an improvement in the credit of the Government of India. The Bank Rate has come down from 8% in September 1931 to 3½% in March 1933 and has stuck there to-day (October 1934). The low bank rate does not signify activity in commerce and trade, it rather denotes that commerce and trade are at an ebb. As soon as there is a revival of trade, we expect the bank rate to rise and securities to sag. It is not too much to expect that when the Reserve Bank is instituted, with popular control over it, the vagaries of the bank rate will disappear and it will be adjusted from time to time with a view to meet the demands of commerce and trade.

As regards the Bank Rate, it cannot be said off-hand whether a low or a high bank rate will be beneficial to a country. It has a relative aspect rather than an absolute one. A particular rate of interest beneficial from one point of view, may prove harmful from another. It is therefore necessary to weigh all the conditions affecting the wealth of a country at a particular time and then decide in favour of a rate, which will prove of advantage to the country as a whole. For instance, the Bank of England resorts to the device of

increasing its rate of discount in order to prevent the export, outflow or drain of gold to foreign countries. This may be an advantage to her for preserving her gold resources ; but at the same time the prevalence of high discount rates or bank rates, imposed in order to safeguard the nation's gold resources, have a depressing effect on industry by increasing the charges (overdraft rate) which borrowers or manufacturers have to pay for accommodation. As against this it may be noted that in India, in spite of exports of vast amounts of gold, the bank rate was not raised to check the outflow of gold. We can put up with small inconveniences of a temporary nature, but a policy which the wider interests of the whole of the nation demands cannot be sacrificed for the sake of temporary advantages.

EXPANSION AND CONTRACTION OF CREDIT

The policy of contraction has adversely affected India, in so far as the prices of commodities are concerned. Within recent memory, during 1926-27 and 1930-31, public feeling was aroused against large contractions of currency. The President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, in his letter dated 26th November 1930, to the Hon. Finance Member, Government of India complained that 'manipulations of various kinds have been resorted to with a view to create artificial stringency and unjustified high money rates in India'. Dr. L. C. Jain while referring to the question of contraction of currency, in his book 'The Monetary Problems of India,' says, "The weakness of the exchange coincided with and was presumably corrected by the large contractions of currency which took place between 1926-27 to 1930-31. Figures of silver currency are not available but the net contraction of note currency during the quinquennium was no less than Rs. 102.50 crores. This is an unusually large figure, even if allowance be made for the general fall in the price of commodities."

Agriculture, the main industry in India, suffers due to reduced prices of agricultural production. It will therefore be incumbent upon the Reserve Bank, when it sees the light of day, to examine carefully the question of expansion of credit. But it is erroneously believed by some that the expansion of credit will produce inflation or a rise in prices, which will not be in the interest of people of small means. It is a fallacy to suppose that the expansion of credit always goes hand in hand with a rise in prices. It may be possible in case of a stationary or stagnant economic state, not in that of a progressive or mobile state. If a community develops or progresses economically, expansion of credit need not produce inflation. Rather it may result in a fall in prices, for it may facilitate a greater volume of production, at lower overhead costs. There would be no inflation or an increase in general price-level, provided the expansion of credit

does not outrun the growth of industrial production. We know that credit may be regulated with a view to keeping the purchasing power of money stable. That is the theme of the resolution passed by the International Economic Conference held at Genoa in 1922. It said that credit should be regulated "not only with a view to maintaining the currencies at par with one another, but also with a view to preventing undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold." Even if there is to be a small rise in prices due to credit expansion by the Reserve Bank in India, it is not tantamount to 'undue fluctuations' in the purchasing power of the monetary unit of the country, and therefore it need not cause any alarm.

We have spoken of the need of suitable contraction and expansion of credit in India. The Governor of the Bank of England, in the course of his evidence before the Royal Commission of Indian Currency and Finance, has also referred to this aspect, while replying to a question as to the duties of a Central Bank. He said, "It should have the sole right of note issue; it would further be the duty of a Central Bank to effect, so far as it could "suitable contraction and suitable expansion, in addition to aiming generally at stability, and to maintain that stability within as well as without."

THE ISSUE OF EMERGENCY CURRENCY

The provision for the issue of emergency currency in India is quite inelastic, hardly solving the difficulty connected with the currency requirements. The very phrase 'emergency currency', as applied in India, is a misnomer. If the Government is to wait before issuing the emergency currency, till the Bank Rate goes up to a high level, the aim underlying the idea of emergency currency cannot be fulfilled. Due to recurring periods of stringency, and to give relief and provide facility for meeting the currency demands, the Government have professed to provide emergency currency. We do not understand why the usual demand of the people which can be easily ascertained even before the demand is made, should be given the colour of a sudden necessity, to be met by some emergency measure. Why should a demand for money which can be calculated as likely to occur, create unsteadiness in the money market? If this demand is sudden, then we can understand and justify the high rate of discount. But a seasonal demand for money, as is occurring in India, need not cause fluctuations in the discount rate.

The Imperial Bank is the medium through which provision has been made for the issue of emergency currency. The provision proves unfruitful, as the Government hesitates and refuses to issue it below a certain rate. The provision comes into force only when the Bank rate goes up to 7 or 8 p. c. What we desire is this that money should

be made available without raising the rate of discount. But if the relief, supposed to be given by the emergency currency, is to be given at a heavy rate, the object of the relief *viz.*, to prevent the rate rising is not secured. In most of the European countries, there is no limit laid down in law on the issue of currency ; there the Central Reserve Bank, in order to provide an elastic currency basis, is allowed to issue additional currency, provided that the Bank pays a stipulated tax to the state for the issue of additional currency beyond the proportion fixed. In India, stringency is actuated rather than removed due to an absurd arrangement about the emergency currency usable at certain (high) rates. If it is to be of any use, it will have to be issued when a case is made out for it, without any restriction as to the rate and the amount. The Bengal Provincial Banking Committee recommended —para. 396—"Emergency currency should be issued to the extent of Rs. 6 crores when the bank rate rises to 6 p. c. and Rs. 6 crores more when the bank rate rises to 7 p. c." This recommendation also is not quite free from the stigma of inelasticity, as it would allow currency to be issued only in certain amounts and only at a time when the bank rate has assumed certain proportions. Such a rigid provision sacrificing the currency elasticity is not to be seen in other civilised countries and therefore we do not lend our support to it. The Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance, 1926, rightly pointed out—"A well-regulated system should provide for a measure of elasticity in the expansion of currency in case of great financial crisis, when the need for additional cash for the support of credit is urgent. In such cases it is necessary to provide for an emergency issue of currency on special terms. The Indian system makes no express provision of the sort."

The importance attached at present to the question of emergency currency will be much reduced, or the need of emergency currency will be felt much less than at present, when the Reserve Bank appears on the field and develops a discount market, promotes acceptance business and mobilises our capital resources for the benefit of trade and industry. It is these factors that will ably meet the situation connected with the credit supply, without resorting to unusual extraordinary or emergency measures.

OPEN MARKET OPERATIONS OF THE RESERVE BANK

It cannot be denied that if the Reserve Bank is to make its policy effective it will have to operate in the open market and even compete with the commercial banks. A true Central Bank in order to discharge its primary duty of regulating credit and maintaining the stability of the currency will be constrained to resort to open market operations in the bill market, besides discounting bills of

member banks. When we speak of competition with commercial banks, we need not be understood to suggest that it should compete for the sake of profit. Far from it; we would rather say that the Reserve Bank should not compete with commercial banks for profit. What is meant is only this that while trying to comply with the broad principle of exercising an effective control of currency and credit in India, in consonance with maintaining the larger interests of the country as a whole, the bogey of competition with a few of the banks (which competition would be only inevitable, unavoidable and transitory in character), need not deter the Reserve Bank from undertaking its usual duties. The basic fact that the Reserve Bank is to be helpful and not harmful to the other banks, proves that if there is competition, it will be a healthy competition. Ordinarily, so far as the banks conform to the standard laid down, they are entitled to the necessary assistance and protection from the Reserve Bank.

As regards the powers of the Reserve Bank in regard to its open market operations and competing with commercial banks, the European Banking Experts also tendered their advice to the Banking Committee that by widening these powers, the Reserve Bank will be enabled to enforce its credit policy and make itself felt in regard to controlling the interest rates of its member banks. Whether the Reserve Bank exercises such powers or not, their very existence will enhance its influence on the level of interest rates.

Again the Reserve Bank, in order to have a complete control over the monetary policy in India, will have to be in charge of the remittance operations of the Government. These operations amounting annually to about £35 millions affect the Indian Money Market and the Currency policy, and as such the Reserve Bank should be entrusted with all the remittance operations of the Government in India and in London instead of the Government itself. These duties will have to be taken over by the Central Bank from the hands of the Government officials, for the discharge of which they are ill-equipped.

STATE BANK VS. SHAREHOLDERS' BANK¹

If the Reserve Bank is to be kept free from Government interference or political pressure, we fail to understand why too much of stress was laid, by the advocates of a State Bank, on the necessity or desirability of establishing a State Bank in India as against an independent shareholders' bank. The capital of the State Bank would

1. As the Shareholders' Bank is a 'fait accompli', we have refrained here from undertaking a lengthy discussion of this subject. However, a more detailed treatment of this question will be found in my Thesis—"Possibilities of the Development of Banking in India" kept at the Bombay University Library, Economics Department,

have to be provided by the Government and for the stake taken by the Government in the supply of capital, it would not be surprising to find the institution environed by a bureaucratic atmosphere. Again in the absence of a national Government, it is unlikely to find a State Bank working with popular confidence. The very fact of state ownership would afford facile pretexts for undue interference on the part of the Government. In the case of a State Bank, a predominant majority of the members of the Central as well as local boards would be drawn from the Government services and that would hardly ensure the independence of the bank. It is only in case of a shareholders' bank that we can expect to find a board comparatively free from Government influence. The Government may rightly claim to nominate one or two members on the board, even if it is a shareholders' bank, in view of the huge Government balances remaining with and the remittance business done by the bank or in general to protect its own interests. This small state control need not prove injurious, it would rather be desirable, as it will prevent the bank from degenerating into a purely dividend-hunting concern. The latter will be the case, if the bank is allowed to run with entire control vested in the shareholders. We then arrive at the conclusion that it is better to start the bank as an independent organisation, with limited powers allowed to the State for protecting its own interests. Our main objection to a State bank is that it would tend to be an effete institution excessively dependent on a lead from Government in everything.

Further supporting our view for a shareholders' bank, we may note that in any important centre of the world, we will not find a State Bank existing at present. For a bank to be established in India, we need not take our model from relatively unimportant centres like Australia, Latvia, Estonia, etc., where state banks are known to exist. We will find that the Central Banks are shareholders' banks working most satisfactorily, in all the most important countries of the world. The wide powers enjoyed by shareholders of ~~certain~~ joint-stock companies are much restricted in case of shareh Central Banks, inasmuch as the shareholders focussing their s on private gain cannot be allowed to interfere in the larger policy of the Bank, which has to act as a banker of the Government as well as to look after public money, currency of the country, its gold reserve, and regulate and support the finance market, particularly in times of monetary crisis. On these grounds, the fear that the shareholders will exploit the institution for their own benefit, cannot be sustained.¹

1 The League of Nations Financial Committee have also remained strong advocates of independent Central Banks.

ASSISTANCE TO AND CONTROL OF OTHER BANKS

One of the several functions of the Reserve Bank is stated to consist in rendering timely assistance to banks in the hour of need. When trade is brisk and the other banks are financing it, or in other words, when the situation is normal, that is just the time when the Reserve Bank must co-ordinate and consolidate its resources, in order to be prepared for the inevitable set-back. It is then that its cogency, its utility, and its indispensability will be tested in the light of its strength to meet the abnormal situation and its ability to reduce the hardship caused by that situation. But its effective supervision and control of banking in general—which need not imply wanton interference—will go hand-in-hand with its rendering assistance. It should be one of the aims of the Reserve Bank to establish this wholesome control of banks, enjoying privileges and facilities at its hands. Other countries have done that and thereby helped to unify the scattered banking units. It is one of the objects of the Federal Reserve system in America also. The system is meant "to furnish an elastic currency, to afford means of rediscounting commercial paper, and to establish a more effective supervision and control of banking in the United States."

RURAL CREDIT AND THE RESERVE BANK IN INDIA

The conditions peculiar to India will have to be taken note of before any definite or rigid rules are thrust upon her, as regards advances to be made by the Reserve Bank. India is a land of agriculturists and no efforts should be spared to render the institution of utmost value and use to the cultivators, who are the backbone of the mother-land. As such the needs of agriculture, the co-operative movement, and land-mortgage credit will have to be looked after by the Reserve Bank at every stage of its existence. The support, which the co-operative movement has hitherto looked for in vain from the Imperial Bank, will have to be extended to it by the Reserve Bank.

In the last chapter of the Reserve Bank Bill, 1933, the Assembly added a section (section 54 of the Reserve Bank Act 1934) making it imperative for the Bank to create a special agricultural credit department, the functions of which are (1) to maintain an expert staff to study all questions of agricultural credit and be available for consultation by the Governor-General in Council, Local Governments, provincial co-operative banks, and other banking organisations ; and (2) to co-ordinate the operations of the Bank in connection with agricultural credit and its relations with provincial co-operative banks and any other banks or organisations engaged in the business of agricultural credit.

The Act of 1934 allows the Bank to make loans and advances, against the security of, among other things, promissory notes of any scheduled bank or a provincial co-operative bank, for the purpose of financing seasonal agricultural operations or the marketing of crops. According to the Bill of 1933, the loan or advance was to be made repayable on demand or on the expiry of fixed periods not exceeding ninety days. This meant that only short-term finance was to be allowed. We understand that the Reserve Bank must have its assets, so far as possible, in liquid form. However realising the fact that an extremely short-term finance can hardly prove of any use particularly to the agricultural community, we are glad that the Assembly has specially extended the maturing of the bills of exchange to nine months from the date of purchase or rediscount exclusive of days of grace*. But Mr. G. Findlay Shirras opposing long-term finance by Central Banks, in an article contributed by him to the Journal of the Indian Institute of Bankers, April 1934, says: "It must be remembered that a burnt child fears the fire, and no Reserve Bank could undertake long-term financing which is not a part of Central Banking functions. Such capital loans for agricultural purposes are not proper assets for a Central Bank, and it is a matter for some regret that the paper was not limited to six months in place of nine months." But we need not take the limit of 9 months as too long in this instance. In America also, under the Federal Reserve System, though the bills with maturity of 60 or 90 days are rediscounted generally, in order to keep the assets liquid, however, bills and notes drawn for agricultural purposes with maturities upto 9 months are rediscounted.

In connection with agricultural credit so far as India is concerned, one might even argue that the first charge on the national credit resources of a predominantly agricultural country like India should be the demands of agriculture and that the Reserve Bank should finance co-operative Banks and Land Mortgage Banks before it undertakes any other business.

PURCHASE AND REDISCOUNT OF BILLS BY THE RESERVE BANK

Our attention is drawn to another important provision contained in section 17 (2) (a) of the Reserve Bank Act, 1934, whereby the Reserve Bank is authorised to purchase, sell and rediscount bills of exchange and promissory notes, 'drawn and payable in India' and arising out of bona fide commercial or trade transactions bearing two or more good signatures, one of which should be that of a 'scheduled bank'. In this provision, we have to mark carefully the two phrases—(1) drawn and payable in India (2) scheduled bank,—so as to examine their effect on our banking system. At the very outset, it may be

*Refer to section 17(2)(b) of the Reserve Bank Act, 1934.

noted that if the business to be transacted by the Reserve Bank is confined to bills drawn and payable in India, then it will interfere with the development of rupee bills.¹ It appears that the restriction, as regards bills 'drawn and payable in India' is conceived in the interests of Exchange Banks, and it prevents the Reserve Bank from dealing in import bills, which are payable in India, but not drawn here. Such a restriction on the authority charged with the maintenance of the exchange is not desirable. It is essential that in order to develop a bill market in India, the Reserve Bank should be kept unfettered in discounting bills, whether drawn in India or outside India.

Let us now turn to the phrase 'Scheduled bank'. The 'scheduled banks' are banks which are to be brought within the fold of the Reserve Bank and which are to enjoy certain privileges in connection with their dealings with the Reserve Bank. If the scheduled banks are to comprise only Indian banks of sufficient stability, we have nothing to say as regards the rediscounting facilities to be given to them by the Reserve Bank. But as it appears from section 2 (e) of the Reserve Bank Act, 1934, most of the foreign exchange banks command a place in the list of scheduled banks. When, therefore, it is intended to allow certain privileges and rediscounting facilities to the scheduled banks, it is apparent that the Exchange Banks will share the privileges and facilities on equal terms with the Indian banks, in spite of their superior position, record career, old standing, and their inimical competition with the Indian Banks. If the Indian banks are to be truly developed, if they are to gain a firm foothold in India, if they are to prove a tower of strength to the Indian banking structure, and if they are to be counted upon as inspiring confidence in the people, then it is expedient and even incumbent that the Reserve Bank should allow preferential treatment to these banks as against the Exchange banks. The Bank of England does not extend rediscounting facilities to the Indian banks and it discounts sterling bills of exchange bearing two English signatures. No non-English banker or bank can discount bills with the Bank of England, nor does it hold any foreign bills in its portfolio.

THE RESERVE BANK AND THE RUPEE RATIO

Let us now turn our attention to the much-vaed question of the rupee valued in terms of sterling. The ratio question has come in the lime-light once again, since the publication of the Reserve Bank Bill of 1933. The Joint Select Committee on the Reserve Bank Bill

¹ The need for the development of rupee bills is described in the chapter on Exchange Banks of my thesis "Possibilities of the Development of Banking in India".

has rejected several amendments in the Bill, aiming at the alteration of the rupee ratio, with the result that the 18d. ratio remains unchanged in the Bill. The ground urged is that the ratio issue is not relevant to the discussion of the Bill. Apart from the question of relevancy, we are inclined to hold that what at present matters is not so much whether the rupee is fixed at 18d. or 16d. as whether the Federal Legislatures will have power to decide on a change in the ratio or standard of currency in future. Again it will be admitted that the world exchanges are at present in an unstable state, and therefore it is not so easy nor even advisable to fix the ratio at 16d. or any other arbitrary figure, for depreciation of other currencies may require it to be lowered still further. Though the ill-fated 18d. ratio is doomed and an alteration is inevitable, however at present when the exchanges of major countries are in a state of flux, one cannot say precisely what change in the ratio should be effected in connection with the provisions incorporated in the Reserve Bank Act concerning the exchange obligations of the Bank. It is only a question of the right moment involving stable world economic conditions, when the rupee ratio can be revised with any degree of certainty in order to stabilise the rupee at a fixed level. It is therefore obvious that the whole question of the monetary standard including the rupee ratio, which can be found best suited to India, will have to be examined when the international monetary position has clarified itself and become sufficiently stable to allow of incorporating more permanent provisions. In the meantime, efforts may be made for securing for the future legislature power to make amendments in the Reserve Bank Act and the Coinage and Paper Currency Acts. Unless this power is secured, India will be prostrate and helpless, as it is at present, in shaping her future currency policy to the best of her interests.

According to paragraph 119 of the White Paper proposals, "the consent of the Governor-General given at his '*discretion*' will be required for the introduction in the Federal Legislature of legislation. . . . which affects the coinage and currency of the Federation or the powers and duties of the Federal Reserve Bank in relation to the management of Currency and Exchange." It cannot be gainsaid that the immense powers allowed to the Governor-General over and above the powers retained by Parliament, will hardly be utilised to the advantage of India. With our experience in the past of the exercise of such extraordinary powers, we despair of any substantial good accruing to India through a Reserve Bank, working under the guidance of a foreign Parliament, the Secretary of State or even the Governor-General. The constitutional restrictions imposed on us in regard to our future financial administration are too heavy, rigid and cumbrous to allow of a desirable change in the policy of the Central Reserve Bank in

future. Even if the hold of Parliament is slackened, we will have to beg of the Governor-General for effecting any change who will then give his consent to any such change only at his 'discretion'. This being so, it is inconceivable to think of sections 40 and 41, which provide for the rupee ratio, being amended by the Indian Legislature.

Though we have previously stated that the present is not an opportune time for recommending any particular ratio at which the exchange can be stabilised, we need not be taken to mean thereby that we favour upholding the high rate of 18d. at which the rupee is valued arbitrarily at present. Devaluation of the rupee is a much desired necessity, if a solution, however temporary in character, is to be found for the phenomenal fall in the price of commodities and particularly of agricultural products. Every country is at present trying to raise the price of its commodities. The Imperial Economic Conference of 1932 also resolved that a rise throughout the world of the general level of wholesale prices was in the highest degree desirable. Even Sir George Schuster, who has done little in this direction in this country, emphasised at that very Conference, the need for a substantial rise in prices. America, who till lately defended the high exchange parity of the Dollar, has now changed its view and tried to effect a rise in prices by depreciating the Dollar. Japan has also depreciated the value of its Yen, thereby successfully dumping her goods in India. Even when the Pound sterling has depreciated more than 30 per cent. India is still clinging fast to an inflated rupee value. It is no exaggeration to say that India's shrinking balance of trade for some time past and the loss suffered by the agriculturists of the country are largely due to a high rupee ratio.

The aggregate loss to India due to the high ratio is estimated at Rs. 50/- crores per annum. It is believed that the foreign manufacturer sending his goods to India at 18d. exchange gets a preference over the Indian manufacturer of 33 per cent. instead of 12 per cent. when the ratio was 16d. In order to revive trade and industry and particularly to save the agriculturists from the ruin staring them in the face, it is emergent that the rupee ratio be revised by the Legislature as soon as world conditions tend to be more stable. This is why we urge the necessity of investing the Indian legislature with necessary powers to make amendments in the Reserve Bank Act, which comprises the rupee ratio as embodied in sections 40 and 41 of the Act.

But as matters stand to-day, it appears that the Finance Member who merely follows the Secretary of State, is in no mood to allow the Indian legislature to have a hand in determining the future of the rupee ratio in India. In shelving the ratio question, the Finance Member tried to find an excuse by saying that the Reserve Bank

Bill had nothing to do with the ratio question. He said that the Bill was before the Assembly, not to know whether the legislature wanted the existing ratio or not, but to know whether the legislature wanted to have and establish a Reserve Bank in India. This plea of the Finance Member was untenable, inasmuch as one would have liked to know that if the ratio had nothing to do with the Reserve Bank Act, where was the necessity for incorporating sections 40 and 41 which deal directly with the ratio in the Bill? One cannot uphold the irreconcilable position that the legislature can pass the whole of the Bill intact and still withhold their sanction to or reserve their opinion on sections 40 and 41 of the Bill.

LINKING THE RUPEE TO STERLING

There is some divergence of opinion as to whether the rupee should be left free to attain its own level or whether it should be linked to sterling. So long as the currency of a country was linked with gold, the prices of commodities as well as the rate of exchange, affecting each other, could maintain a stable condition. But that is not the condition existing now. People do not care as much for the rate of exchange as they do for the prices of commodities. That being so, some of the countries ascertain the rate of exchange, keeping in view the commodity prices. A country fixes the rate of exchange at that level at which it can make the best of a bargain. We in India have no voice in fixing our own rate of exchange, beneficial to our country. The control is entirely in the hands of the Secretary of State, who fixes the rate irrespective of the good, of India. We may, therefore, reasonably hold the view that a free rupee is ultimately best in the interests of India.

Public opinion was also averse to the policy of linking the rupee to sterling. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (then Mr.) expressed himself against the sterling rupee in the Legislative Assembly on 26th September 1931 in these words : "The rupee is tied to the chariot wheels of sterling, and in relation to gold it must follow the fortunes of sterling. I do not anticipate that England will for ever remain off the gold standard. It may be that after six months or one year or two years England might think that the time had then come for her to go on a gold standard again, and if such a thing happened in England, we will also automatically go on the gold standard ; with what consequence? Every country must restore the gold standard and fix its currency in terms of gold with due regard to the economic conditions of that country. But under the present circumstances, irrespective of the economic conditions of India, irrespective of the intrinsic value of our currency, the moment the economic conditions in

England become propitious for the linking of sterling to gold, we will automatically be linked to gold. That, I submit, is a danger, the possibilities of which are far-reaching and the consequences of which I dread to imagine."

No doubt more than half the countries of the world are dependent upon sterling, but then other countries do not tolerate, as India does, an arbitrary rate, detrimental to their interests. At most, we may concede that the rupee may have sterling for its guidance, but it need not be made dependent on it. We need have, therefore, no reason for alarm if the rupee is delinked or divorced from sterling in future.

THE DURATION OF THE FIRST BANK CHARTER

As we are yet in an experimental stage, varying suggestions are made and even conflicting views are expressed by persons actuated with a desire of establishing a Reserve Bank in India. It is no wonder that in the beginning, some bona fide mistakes may also be made and the financial institution once committed to a definite policy by the Act, may move on with its activity regardless of the injury emanating from those mistakes. The time to give a corrective and to check the bank from slipping into dangerous zones will come when the Bank Charter is to be renewed. It is therefore necessary that the first charter of the Bank should be of short duration, say 15 years, so as to enable the authorities concerned to divest the Bank of its redundant powers and unhealthy activities, in the light of the experience gained in the course of the existence of the first Charter and also to incorporate and embody changes, if necessary, in the succeeding charter. As provided in the Reserve Bank Bill, 1933, the Bank was to enjoy an assured life of 25 years in the first instance, as compared with 12 years in the case of the Bank of England at its inception in 1694. However it is satisfactory to find that this section was omitted by 45 votes to 16 in the Assembly and the omission of the section, to our mind, strengthens the Act.

In European countries, the State has taken the fullest advantage of every renewal of the Charter to limit the return on capital to shareholders, to remedy any defects in the working and policy which the national standpoint may indicate and in general to remove the complaints usually associated with the management of a privileged body like a Central Bank. In France, the State has taken advantage of every renewal of the charter and enlargement of the bank's privileges, to make the Bank advance large sums to it, either free of interest or at special rates.

CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS AS OUTLINED BY SIR BASIL BLACKETT
AND SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER

The story made out by Sir Basil Blackett about the unified control of currency and credit to be in India solely in the interests of our agriculture, commerce and trade, seems to be fictitious. "At one stroke," said Sir Basil Blackett, "the control of Indian currency and finance will be transferred from a centre situated at some point between Whitehall and Delhi into the sole control of India. And while geographically the control will be in India, the atmosphere in which that control will be exercised will be no longer a Governmental atmosphere, but an atmosphere permeated by the views of representatives of agricultural, commercial and industrial India." Again in winding up the general discussion on the New Reserve Bank Bill in the Legislative Assembly on 14th September 1933, the Honourable Sir George Schuster stated that the Bank "must become a trusted part of Indian public life," that "it must be an Indian institution commanding the confidence of Indian opinion, otherwise the whole purpose of the proposal would be lost."

It is absurd to suppose that with the appointment of a number of Directors made by the Governor-General, and the Governor and Deputy Governor also appointed by the Governor-General, the control will remain entirely in Indian hands and in Indian interests. It is also an illusion to suppose that with all the safeguards provided in the White Paper and eventually in the Federal Constitution in embryo for maintaining British interests, as much in commercial as in financial pursuits in India, the Reserve Bank will be relieved of the strain of foreign domination and allowed to work only in Indian interests, which may even collide occasionally with British interests. In fact public opinion is very critical of the new scheme, as adumbrated by the Reserve Bank Bill of 1933 and views it with disfavour and suspicion.

Finally we will say that the solution of the banking problem in India depends in the first place upon the constitution of a strong, well-equipped and influential Reserve Bank, developing and maintaining a sound currency and exchange policy, national in character, and assisting an all-round growth of banking in India.

SIVAKA M. MASANI

Reviews

"*The Jealousy of the Gods and Criminal Law at Athens.* (A contribution to the Sociology of Moral Indignation). By SVEND RANULF, PH. D. (2 vols., 1933, Williams and Norgate Ltd., London.)

In this important work Dr. Ranulf maintains a thesis about the origin of moral indignation among the Athenian Greeks of the 5th century B.C. which will be repugnant to many a lover of their culture. The problem he has set himself is to ascertain the forces that led to a change from private to public justice in Athens of the 5th century B.C.: How it came about that certain wrongs done to individuals were avenged not by the victim of the wrongful act nor even by those interested in him but by strangers who were not interested in him or by the state. This practice he calls disinterested tendency to punish. Is it due to moral indignation or is merely co-existent with it? He finds that in the Iliad neither the gods nor the men show any tendency to punish offenders with a view to do justice. That the gods were not at all interested in doing disinterested justice is clear from the way they punish both the guilty and the innocent alike and only when they suffered a personal wrong. Similarly among men the custom of personal, kindred or clan vengeance existed. In the 5th Century Athens on the other hand a system of law existed which presupposed the willingness of the citizens to interfere when wrongs were inflicted on others. The gods described in the literature of this period indeed show a great punishing zeal which is largely disinterested. They force sinners to sin against their will and punish them. They also punish the innocent. And in either case the victims have given no offence to the gods. In their arbitrary and cruel dealing they seem to revel in the mere act of punishing, a tendency which is but a special manifestation of their general readiness to undo mankind. Among those who aroused the jealousy of the gods figure men known for their riches, power, fame or happiness. And those who have wronged either the gods or their own fellow-citizens are more open to the divine wrath. Thus the gods of this period develop a fresh activity which may be called the disinterested tendency to punish and a new quality namely jealousy. To the great writers and therefore to their common clientele these activities of

the gods appeared just, moral and edifying. They failed to make a proper distinction between just and unjust suffering and to apportion blame or sympathy as deserved. They confused disasters which were punishments for wrongs committed, disasters which were caused by the whims of gods and those which proceeded out of their jealousy. This confusion is symptomatic of the lack of moral discrimination in the minds of the Greeks of this period. The distinction between intentional and unintentional crime which was not altogether unimportant in early Athenian law ceases to have any significance in the moral reflections recorded in literature. The attitude towards jealous gods, who are supposed to guard the morality of men and safeguard their mutual rights, as distributors of justice can only have proceeded from the fact of jealousy and envy which characterized the population. Only a jealous people could look upon the immoral gods as guardians of justice and revel in their punishing activities because they gave them a secret satisfaction of their own tendencies. The Athenians of the period were interested in utilizing their right of starting prosecutions against honourable citizens as disinterested third parties to such an extent that many availed themselves of the right to threaten good citizens with even groundless accusations. This evil had reached such dimensions that it was thought necessary to safeguard citizens against malicious prosecutions "by making the plaintiffs in cases where less than one-fifth of the judges had voted for conviction, liable to fines and to forfeiture of the right of prosecution in similar cases in future." The procedure of ostracism also breathes the spirit of envy and jealousy. Thus the conclusion is borne upon the readers that the disinterested tendency to punish which prevailed in the 5th century Athens owed its origin and development to the widespread spirit of envy and jealousy inspiring the Athenian citizens. Dr. Ranulf supports his conclusion by bringing to the notice of his readers a number of other marks of jealousy and envy scattered in the great works of Thucydides, Euripides and Aristophanes, thus helping his readers to the conviction that the Athenians of the 5th century B.C. were essentially a jealous people. Such an outburst of envy leading to the zeal for justice requires some explanation and the author finds it in the fact of poverty of a large middle class.

Dr. Ranulf discusses the views of other writers on the criminal law of Athens and shows how the explanation he has offered—viz. that the zeal for justice owed its origin to envy and jealousy—is superior to them in accommodating the known facts of Athenian life. In this attempt he does not seem to succeed equally

well in all the cases. Thus in rejecting Prof. Gernet's theory that the disinterested tendency to punish was but a development on the city state scale of the noted custom of the primitive clan to do the same in self-defence he seems to admit that among the primitive Greeks the clan punished its defaulting members because it was thought that such wrongful acts brought down supernatural dangers to the community and yet he refuses to recognize that the development of justice in the city state might have been fundamentally based on the same idea and that envy and jealousy might have merely helped a rigorous and widespread application of the doctrine. But it is not fair to criticise the author for this defect as he is keenly aware that there are many approaches to the problem which must be thoroughly explored to completely substantiate his thesis and that it may have to be modified in the light of the facts revealed by such explorations.

He briefly discusses the view that the whole theory of morality owes its origin and strength to human envy and jealousy. If it should be proved that the basis of morality—and to prove this much more research is necessary—is in envy and jealousy, social life would appear to be based on sets of contrary tendencies. Human cohesion in social groups is the result of the gregarious instinct and social control would appear to have its foundations in envy. Thus the social process would appear to move on the crests of contraries—sympathy and jealousy, love and hate, co-operation and competition and the tempo of a society would be set by the varying proportions in which these contraries operate in its midst.

G. S. GHURYE

Economic Democracy: America's Answer to Socialism and Communism. By ROBERT S. BROOKINGS, (The Macmillan Company, New York.)

This is a collection of articles, addresses and papers¹ by Mr. Brookings, Founder President of the Brookings Institution,

1. These were written or delivered between 1924 and 1928, and naturally have no relation to the present American situation. In fact the developments in that great country since April 1933 are an interesting comment on one of Mr. Brookings' statements. "We, in this country, have developed, as no other nation has, economic and social organisation independent of government, and I have the feeling that if the law of supply and demand fails to adjust the differences which are sure to arise between our numerous groups we shall be able, through this genius we have for social and economic organisation, to largely adjust these differences independent of government interference." (op. cit., p. 20).

Washington, U. S. A. Mr. Brookings, we are informed in the preface, has been at some time or other in his career director of important manufacturing concerns, president of a University Corporation, president of several Research Institutes and chairman or member of a number of government committees. In this volume he presents the public the fruits of his varied experience under the arresting title "Economic Democracy—America's Answer to Socialism and Communism".

Four topics seem to have in the main engaged Mr. Brookings' interest: the relation of Labour and Capital, the condition of American agriculture, the American Tariff and European economics. Of these only the first bears directly on the question of Capitalism vs. the other 'isms.

Not being a professional economist—though the press has classed him as such—Mr. Brookings has been able to preserve the intellectual naivete of the successful businessman. He can, therefore, prescribe simple solutions of complex social problems with a feeling of confidence and certainty which is the envy of the professional economist. For example, Mr. Brookings believes that the thorny question of Capital vs. Labour can be solved in a fairly simple fashion if the worker could be only assured a "saving wage"—as contrasted with a living wage—which will enable him to become in addition a capitalist. To achieve this end it would be necessary to encourage the growth of big Business in all departments of economic activity, to exclude cheap foreign labour by means of stringent immigration laws and the products of cheap foreign labour by means of a high tariff, and finally to offer facilities to workers to invest in the stock of their firm and provide for their representation on its directorate.

Apart from the difficulties of reaching this goal, it would be interesting to know whether its attainment would be a sufficient answer to the challenge of Socialism and Communism. The Socialist criticism of Capitalist Society, to take the less extreme of the two, is directed mainly to the unequal division of income and wealth in it, the consequent inequality in the distribution of social opportunities, and the concentration of economic power in the hands of the few.

Does Mr. Brookings' programme meet this criticism?

In the first place, high wages while they improve the position of the worker absolutely, do not necessarily reduce inequality of incomes in the community. If high wages are general, they can only result from high productivity. But high productivity is associated also with large profits and it is most unlikely that their capitalist recipients would part with any portion of them just to

meet the Socialist challenge. This is not an argument against a high wages policy in a capitalist society. It only questions the facile optimism of those who believe that one could exorcise the Socialist and the Communist demons with the simple formula of "High Wages".

Secondly, if high wages in industry could be maintained only with the help of a high tariff against imported manufactures, they must necessarily be at the expense of low wages or low profits and unemployment elsewhere, and one cannot maintain high wages all round by an all-round high tariff wall. In spite of Mr. Brookings the reader cannot help feeling that the misery of the American farmer has been, in part at least, due to the high protection accorded to American industry in the interest of high wages.

But could we not rob Socialism of its prospective recruits by converting them into capitalists? "Give the worker a stake in the firm in which he is employed; let him have his representatives on its Board of Directors and you range him on the side of Capitalism against its enemies." This is an infinitely alluring proposition which has now and then exercised the mind of religiously inclined capitalist employers. But neither history nor logic lends support to it. Experiments in Labour Co-partnership are fairly ancient now, nearly as old as modern industrialism itself. And yet how little have they spread, how little have they succeeded against the unadulterated capitalist firm. Capitalism has "progressed", may be towards its nemesis, by a continuous breaking up of complex economic functions into their simpler elements, and the assignment of these to separate individuals with different levels of income and very varying degrees of responsibility and power. Is it possible for it to retrace its steps now and achieve an effective synthesis of conflicting interests through half-hearted schemes of Labour Co-partnership?

Nor could it fly in the face of history and take shelter in the bosom of Logic. In the first place, such is the make-up of human character that the worker who becomes a capitalist on a decent scale ceases to be a true worker, often less sympathetic than the full-blooded capitalist, to the needs and grievances of fellow workers. Is not Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to-day a deeper Tory than Tories of ancient lineage?

Secondly, would it be wise for the individual worker to put all his eggs in one basket, to employ his labour as well as his savings in the same firm? I am afraid he would thereby increase his aggregate risks as an investor of labour and of capital, and I am sure he will reduce his freedom both as a worker and a capitalist. But if his savings are invested elsewhere, he would be

no better than the ordinary small investor who is perhaps less audible in modern economic society than the average citizen in the modern state.

On the other subjects dealt with in this volume Mr. Brookings appears to have developed attitudes rather than ideas. The address on Industrial Defence is full of interesting reminiscences of Mr. Brookings as Chairman of the American Price-Fixing Committee during the Great War. To select one out of many: "As an example, however, of utter lack of co-ordination between the Army and Navy, I remember that in checking over the powder supply and cost of production I visited the naval plant at Indian Head and secured cost sheets from it for comparison with those of the Army. I was surprised to find that it cost the Army, as nearly as I can recall, very much more to produce its powder than the small but very efficient plant at Indian Head, and upon inquiry I was told that there had never before been an investigation which would have revealed this lack of army plant sufficiency." Is this an argument for or against Capitalism ?

D. GHOSH

The Worker's Point of View. A Symposium. With a Preface by C. T. Cramp. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1933. 4s. 6d.)

Every newspaper treats its readers from time to time to descriptions of the various Big Industries of the West. The general impression left in our mind by the descriptions is that those Industries are marvels of organisation, method, economy and efficiency. Indeed, we tell ourselves that, given the extent of scientific and technical knowledge available at hand and the truly marvellous rate of progress in those fields of knowledge, and given, moreover, greater organising ability in the owners and more enlightenment in the worker of the West, it would be inexplicable if the organisation, method, economy and efficiency were not what we took them to be. It hardly occurs to any of us that there could be two versions about the organisation and the efficiency. In any case *The Worker's Point of View* gives us the other one. And it is a pretty grim story.

In this book six Englishmen, who earn their living by working with their hands, discuss the conditions and the problems of their work. The reader is shown in plain English exactly what the

work and its organisation look like to a mechanic, a miner, a plasterer, a compositor, an engineer and a steel-worker.

Three points are brought out in every one of these Papers:

(1) That while an industry may be well organized in its big items, its management does not appear to pay any attention to the "important trivialities," with the only too frequent result that hours are lost over jobs requiring but a few minutes to do. For instance, the insufficiency of the necessary small tools in even first-class engineering works, the confusion and waste of valuable time arising out of a lack of standardization in tools, instruments of measurement, nuts, bolts, and screws, and the "penny-wise-pound-foolish" policy generally followed with regard to such important details by even the biggest concerns are truly amazing. And of course it is the consumer who has to pay in the end for all the countless hours of work thus unnecessarily wasted. To give another instance: Sir Henry Walker, Chief Inspector of Mines, in his Annual Report for 1928 says: "It is curious how deep is the conservatism of everyone connected with mines. There are instances where steel props have proved themselves to be safer *and more economical* than timber, yet no steps appear to be taken to introduce them into other collieries owned by the same firms." The book is full of such examples.

(2) That organization and rationalization in British industry have consistently overlooked the most important part of the whole business, viz. the human element, and that consequently the best oiled and the most smoothly running plant cannot and does not give its best and to its fullest capacity. The employer regards and treats the worker as an impersonal object, as part of the machine he is running, and the worker looks upon his work as a necessary evil, and his employer (whom he hardly ever sees) as an impersonal agency to whom he renders grudging service and who pays him for it (as little as possible) equally grudgingly.

The disregard for and mishandling of the human element in Big Industry are appalling. Here is a typical instance from the coal industry. "A certain large Scottish colliery used to be often on short time. The railway sidings at the colliery were crammed full of wagon-loads of coal awaiting a purchaser. The result was that empty wagons were scarce. There was not the slightest attempt to arrange the idle days on any regular system; so that it was impossible for the workers to plan in advance activities for their idle time. Sometimes the miners were only an hour or so in the mine when they had to be withdrawn because there were no wagons. . . . and had to return home, dirty and fatigued, without

having earned enough to clear their bus-fares." And the complaint is general throughout the book that "the human agent is continually being called upon to shoulder the failures of the mechanical agent." And again: "every move that has been made so far towards safer, healthier and pleasanter conditions has been made under legal compulsion." The extra and unnecessary costs due to "discomfort and exasperation arising from uncongenial working conditions, illness arising from unhealthy working conditions, pain and suffering as a result of avoidable industrial accidents, feelings of unrest and ill-will arising from unsatisfactory relationships with employer and fellow-employees, etc." must be incalculable.

(3) That there is a gulf of hostility between workers and employers. The half-contemptuous indifference of the employer is repaid by the worker in whole-hearted contempt and hatred for the boss and for his machine. The result is again truly regrettable. The worker feels absolutely no concern for the industry he serves. He takes no pride in his factory. One employer is as good (or rather as bad) as another, and it does not matter where one works. This is characteristically illustrated by the utterly casual way in which the worker treats the shop tools and instruments and machines. And here is an amazing revelation: "Shirking is accepted as a condition of industry. When I was a compositor I shirked as much of my work as I dared without laying myself open to the charge of laziness or incompetence. All my workmates did the same. We were not blamed. Neither the employer nor his overseers demanded any different standard of conduct." After this we no longer wonder on being told that the vicious system "makes it necessary to employ spies to see that the worker does a fair day's work for his wages."

The position of British Industry as represented in this very illuminating little book can be summed up in two quotations taken from it:

"It works, but its cogs are an odd assortment thrown together by chance rather than placed by design; it does not respond quickly or accurately to control, and certainly cannot be guided as a whole, consciously, in a given direction."

"The rate of progress in industry does not run parallel with scientific knowledge, but is limited to the speed forced by the circumstances of competition."

And the British worker's position in two more:

"Security is something he has never had; and always he fears the unknown."

"A flat and unresponsive recognition of industrial duties. 'What are you doing?' is too often answered with the terse, but how expressive: 'Waiting for pay day!'"

No wonder British Industry which enjoys so many natural and technical advantages denied to others has yet, as a last resort, and after blaming unfair foreign competition, to fall back on Imperial Preference by compulsion and fierce Protectionism.

P. R. B.

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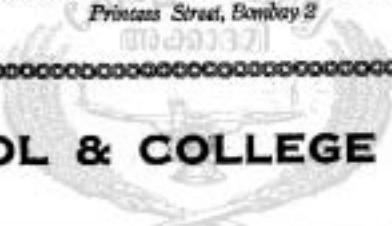
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PART VI

HYMNS TO INDRA BY THE VISVAMITRAS

(R.V. III. 30-53.)

[*Translated into English and briefly annotated.*]

By

H. D. VELANKAR.

INTRODUCTION:—In the following translation and annotations, I have made full use of all the existing material on Rgvedic studies. Special mention, however, must be made of the two great German scholars, Oldenberg and Geldner. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to these and to all others who have made the study of Rgveda easier by their constant labours. Any merit that exists in what follows is naturally to be credited to them. But the defects are solely mine.

H. D. VELANKAR.

30

(1) Your Soma-loving friends long for you; they press the Soma and present their offerings. They defy the imprecations of the (nonbelieving) people, because, oh Indra, (they know) there is no enlightenment without you. (2) Even the farthest regions are

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(1) Cf. I. 4. 5-6; the sense is:—Your worshippers go on with their work of propitiating you in spite of the adverse criticism of the non-believers, because they have full faith in your powers. -d : a after ablative means either 'away from' (cf. I. 129. 6; VIII. 18. 11) or 'coming from' as in X. 91. 12; VII. 95. 5 &c. In the latter case, the line would mean 'any knowledge whatever comes from you', *cana* being taken in a positive sense. Oldenberg, who interprets in this second way, takes *praketaḥ* to refer to

not far for you. Do come, oh lord of the bay steeds, with your horses. For the sake of the strong Bull, these libations are prepared and the pressing stones are set, when the fire is kindled. (3) Indra is noble and victorious, impetuous and strong in action, has beautiful lips and is the lord of a great host (*i.e.*, the Maruts). (But now) where are those brave deeds of yours, oh Bull, which you performed among (nonbelieving) men when oppressed by them? (4) Shaking the unshaken, you indeed move about, killing all alone, the enemies. Heaven and Earth, as also the mountains, stand fixed as it were to (obey) your law. (5) And you alone, oh oft-invited Indra, being the killer of enemies, gloriously [śravobhī] speak firm words in fearlessness. Even these boundless worlds are but a handful of yours when you hold them (in your hands). (6) May your (chariot press for-

what is mentioned in abc. (3) *Tuvikūmi*, from *tvi* and *kūmi*; the latter is from *Vkr* -*Rghā* means 'brilliance', 'vehemence' &c. At I. 162. 2, a Mantra is said to be *Rghādān*. *Martyēśa*: The loc. may also have the sense of 'in favour of', the *Martyēśas* being Indra's worshippers themselves.—*Bādhītak* i.e. by the Daṣyus as in VIII. 73. 18, or the god considers himself *bādhīta* when his worshippers are so. The latter is more probable in view of the usual meaning of *Vbādh* i.e. 'to vanquish, overthrow' &c., and not merely 'to oppose unsuccessfully' or 'offer resistance'. For the *bādhīta* worshippers, cf. IV. 30. 4; VI. 18. 14; 49. 13; VII. 91. 1; X. 80. 5. (4) Ludwig takes *asusvratāya* as one word meaning 'he who obeys the law'; but obviously *tava* and *vratāya* go together as in II. 23, 6b and mean the same as *tava vratā* (i.e. 'in obedience to your law') in I. 24. 15; 31. 1; 83. 3; II. 28. 2; VI. 54. 9 &c. —*Nimītā isā*: H. & E. conceived as sacrificial posts with which *ni* + *vī* is usually used. (5) *Dyūham avadāk*: 'Firm words' are those which are never withdrawn. The idea is:—Indra being always a victor could abuse his enemies as much as he liked, and he had never an occasion to withdraw his insolent remarks; cf. his own words at X. 48. 6. '*Dyūbā vade anvāsyañ nāmavivināḥ*'. Säyanā differs: '*yad vākyām avacās tāt satyam eva*' i.e. 'whatever you promise is given by you.' Geldner (Trans.)—'You alone have secured an ever-lasting name as the Vṛtra-killer') takes *avadāk* in a passive sense. Grassmann reads *avādāk* for *avadāk*:—'You battered down the strong (cow-stall)' ; cf. III. 32. 16d. But the form is foreign to the RV., the usual form being *avādāk*. Roth, Dic. separates *ava dah*, evidently taking the latter as a form of *Vdī*; but *ava*, the prepo., would then have been accented; cf. Macdonell, VGS, App. III. 20a. All these interpretations and emendations appear to be improbable. Säyanā may be defended by passages like IV. 30. 23, but then the words '*vṛtrabā sām*' would be without any force. —*d* :—Cf. III. 32. 11; X. 119. 7. (6) Supply *rathoh* and *etw* in *a*.—*Pravatā*, lit. 'on a slope', hence, 'easily', &c. *d* :—The stanza is repeated at AV. III. 1, 4, with the variant readings *prasātak* for *pra sū t̄s* in *a* and *vīsveksayām kṛṣṇi cittam* *eyām* for *d*. Bloomfield, Atharvaveda, p. 50, regards the AV. reading as the superior one (*vīsveksayām cittam* is the mind from which realisation is removed, i.e., whose desires are never fulfilled); but as Oldenberg (Noten, I, p. 238) rightly points out, the Paippalāda AV. reads

ward) easily, (being drawn) by your horses; may your thunderbolt advance boldly, killing the enemies. Kill those that attack you from the front or the rear, and also those that run away from you. Fulfil all (our desires); may all be completed. (7) That mortal, whom you support as the Supporter, obtains the household pleasures, though not obtained before. Blessed, oh Indra, is your favour which brings us nourishment [ghṛtāci] and also your charity, showering gifts in thousands. (8) You smashed Vṛtra, dwelling there with (his mother) Dānu, cutting down his hands, though he moaned and struggled [kunārum]. You slew the scioner [piyārum] with your powerful (bolt), oh Indra, hewing his legs when he tried to overpower you [abhi vardhanānam]! (9) You fixed down in her place the vast, boundless, flat and restless Earth. The Bull also propped up the heaven and the mid-air. May the floods, ordered by you, rush down here (from the heaven). (10) Vala, the stall of the cows (*i.e.* who encompassed them like it), (and who thought he was) strong enough to pierce (an enemy), nevertheless ran away through fear even before

'vīṣam vīṣam kṛyati satyam esām' which is very similar to the RV. reading, and it is not improbable that the latter may have been the original reading. -*Vīṣam* from *vīṣ* to complete, finish &c. (7) *Dhāyuh* is an adj. of Indra; Indra's horses are called *dhāyū* at VII. 36. 4. Ludwig takes *dhāyuk* as a neuter noun from *vīṣd*, meaning 'thought'. Geldner similarly takes it as noun from *vīṣd*, meaning 'plenty or abundance'; cf. Glossar, p. 93. But the intentional and significant use of *dhāyuk* and *adadhāk* together shows that *dhāyuk* is meant to be the adj. of Indra as said above. (8) That *Vṛtra* alone is meant in both the halves of the stanza will be clear on a comparison of I. 32. 7 & 9. -*Kuṇḍru* is a proper name according to Ludwig and Geldner, but it is evidently an adj. of *Vṛtra*, used in a deprecating sense. Its meaning is 'one who utters a peculiar sound while putting forth utmost labour and force of which one is ordinarily incapable.' Cf. *Kuṇḍhāye* and *Kuṇḍhāye* in Marathi. *Vṛtra*, who was merely a *vadkri*, fighting against a *vyād* (I. 32. 7), lost his limbs one by one, and still he put forward his utmost strength and therefore he was *kuṇḍru*! *Vṛtra* may be well compared with Rāvana trying to lift up the bow of Siva at the court of King Janaka. -*Piyārum* 'wicked, hateful' is an adj. from *vīṣ* 'to hate'. Cf. I. 147. 2 for the verb; *piyātām* (VIII. 2. 15) and *piyā* (II. 19. 7) are other adjs. from the same root. -*Terasī* is an adj. of *Vajrēṣa* supplied; cf. I. 32. 5. *Grasa*, WB. p. 531, takes *tāvās* as a noun of action with an irregular accent (such nouns are accented on the root; cf. VGS. p. 453) both here and at III. 1. 1. In RV. however, the word has the accent on the second syllable everywhere except in the compound *terasādī* at IX. 97. 46, and it is better to take it as an adj. throughout. (9) The adjectives of the Earth show the difficult nature of Indra's task. *d* :—Read *tuaya ika* for metre; for the irregular break, cf. Arnold, Vedic Metre, p. 201. (10) *Alātyāsh*—*alām* *āśādanāk*, from *vīṣd*, 'strong enough to pierce his enemies'; the Maruts are so called at I. 166. 7. A sarcastic contrast between *alātyāsh* and *vīṣā* is surely intended. -*Vāpi*

you struck the blow. He (*i.e.*, Indra) made the paths easy to drive forth the cows (from his cave). The loud-voiced hymns (of the Maruts) helped Puruhūta (at that time). (11) One Indra filled completely the two rich worlds meeting each other, namely the heaven and the earth. And being the lord of nourishing food [*iso rathih*], send us in battles uninterrupted food supplies [*sayujah vājān*] from the mid-air, oh brave god. (12) The Sun does not transgress the fixed quarters which are allotted to him day after day by Haryasva; (and only) when he traverses the entire path with his horses, he unyokes. That of course, is (the work) of Indra. (13) (People) long to see the broad and beautiful face of the shining Uṣas while she emerges forth from the night [*aktor yāman*]. Owing to her greatness, all know when she comes. Many are the good works of Indra. (14) A powerful flame is placed in her udders; (for), herself unbaked, the cow wanders about holding the baked food (*i.e.*, the milk in her udders). All sweetness, which Indra has sent for man's enjoyment, is collected in a cow. (15) Be firm, oh Indra; the robbers have

are either of the Maruts or of the Angirass. (11) Supply *teraya* in *cd.* -*Sawike* always occurring in the loc. case, is usually taken as almost an adv. meaning 'near' like *abhike* and *upake*. But Geldner, Glossar, p. 191, takes it as a noun meaning 'war' everywhere. This meaning is no doubt admirably suited in at least two (IV. 24, 3 and X. 42, 4) out of the five Rgvedic passages. -*Iṣo rathih* : Cf. *īśas patih* at IV. 55, 4 and IX. 14, 7 and *rāya rathih* at VI. 48, 9. Other constructions are :—(a) Take both *īśah* and *rathih* as accu. pl., cf. I. 9, 8c ; 121, 14c ; or (b) take both as nom. sing., *īśah* meaning the same as *esmāyuk*; cf. Sāyanā :—*īśah sthātum icchā*; or (c) take *īśah* as the subjunctive form of *Vīś* : *abhi īśah* 'send to us' (12) *ab* :—According to Ludwig, the reference is perhaps to the fact that the sun rises and sets at different places every day. -*Adhvamanah* is accu. pl., the plural indicating great length. —*īśat tu asya* : cf. III. 38, 7 & 8. (13) Supply *janaḥ* as the subject in a. -*Aktor yāman* may also mean 'after the passing away of the night.' (14) *ab* :—The poet wonders at the fact that though the cow herself is not heated, she nevertheless bears milk which is a cooked food. From this, he poetically infers the existence of some great internal fire placed in her veins, by which the milk is cooked! *d* :—*Yat* may also be construed as a conjunction meaning 'since' :—'All sweetness is collected in a cow, since Indra has sent her for man's enjoyment'; cf. I. 72, 8d. (15) *Yāmakaśāk* : 'waylayers'. Sāyanā :—'*yōmo mārgas tasya kolaśad āchādātakā*'. The poet asks Indra to be firm as the robbers were approaching to molest him and his patrons. According to Oldenberg, the word means 'travelling coffers'. He conceives the situation differently :—The singers and their patrons are out on a plundering expedition with empty coffers and request Indra to be firm and help them, when the enemies were in sight, to fill up the empty coffers. This is quite probable, but the poet in the stanza seems to be up against offending and challenging enemies as in the similar passage V. 3, 11-12. -*Dwermāyarak* : *māyu* from *Vāś* to bellow. Geldner derives *dwermāyu* from *māvā* and

come. Give strength to your singer and friends for the sake of a sacrifice. The wicked mortals with ugly voice, the enemies armed with quivers, do deserve to be killed. (16) The shouts (raised) by the approaching enemies are distinctly heard; hurl down against them your most blazing bolt. Cut them down from below, pierce and overpower them. Kill the demon and subdue him, oh Maghavan. (17) Pull out the demon with all roots (*i.e.*, completely), oh Indra. Cut him in the middle and shatter his top. How long do you keep hesitating (or reflecting)? Hurl down your blazing weapon at the hater of our hymns! (18) When for the sake of our welfare, you conquer vast and abundant food supplies with the help of your horses, may we be the winners of ample fortune, oh Leader! May wealth with offspring be ours. (19) Bring us wealth with glory, oh Indra. Let us place ourselves in the exuberance of your charity. Our desire has widened itself like a cow-stall; fill it fully, oh lord of treasures. (20) Satisfy this our desire with cows and horses and extend it wide (or puff it up) with gifts of shining gold. These poets, the Kuśikas, longing for the sun's light, have prepared with their hymns a vehicle for you, oh Indra. (21) Break open the cow-stalls to give us cows, oh lord; may the acquisitions and plunder come to us in plenty. You are the dweller of Heaven, possessed of reliable strength, oh Bull. Be a liberal giver of cows to us, oh Maghavan.

compares V. 2. 9. This is not necessary. (16) Supply *utsyñat* after *amitrikā* in a. -*Ni jahi*, because Indra is high up in Heaven. -*Vyāsa*, because the demon is conceived as a tree; cf. the next stanza. (17) *Sahamūlam*: not leaving a single root from which it may grow again! -*Kīvataḥ* is abl. of *kīvati*, (from *kr* and *vat*), and means 'since when'? -*Sosalāham* is a reduplicative noun from *Vay* and means 'repeated movement, either physical or mental', hence 'wandering or reflecting'. Śāyana takes it as an adj. of *rakṣas*, understood. (18) *ab* refer to plundering excursions of Indra. (19) b :—Or with Geldner, 'may we lay by something (*ni dhimahi*) in the exuberance &c.' -*Oṁva iṣa*: the word is taken to mean 'ocean' both here and at II. 13. 7 ; 33. 3. But Ludwig is certainly preferable when he takes the word in the sense of a 'cow-stall' in our passage. The point of comparison in our passage is not merely *vastness*, but *vastness coupled with hollessness*, which is found in a cowstall and not in the ocean. Cf. the verb *ā pṛya* and the next stanza. (20) *Mandaya* 'make it slow *i.e.* satisfy it.' -*Papratkā*: The desire is likened to a bazaar-packet which is taken out empty, but is brought back fully puffed or extended owing to things that are put into it. -*Svaryuk* 'longing for sun's light *i.e.* for a long and healthy life.' In RV., 'seeing the light of the sun' means 'living a long and healthy life', cf. VII. 66. 16 ; X. 59. 4-6. -*Vāhak*: A hymn is repeatedly conceived as a vehicle for Indra; cf. VII. 24. 5 &c. (21) *ā dardhyā* with two objects *i.e.*, *geṛāk* and *gāk*. Cf. V. 39. 3. -c : Read *dīvākṣi* for metre, which shows that the poet who composed the line observed a double sandhi; cf.

(22) For the sake of a favour at this battle where plunder is to be acquired, may we successfully call upon this very brave and noble Indra, who though fierce, listens to us, kills our enemies in battles and wins their treasures for us.

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(1) Respecting the thoughts of Rta, the wise Vahni went to his sister's new child taking it under his care [śāsat], when his father Dyauh went with a passionate mind to his daughter Uṣas, dropping his semen on her. (2) (Agni did this, because he as) the bodily son

Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, p. 79, sec. 130. (22) *Susaw* : adv. meaning 'successfully'. Cf. IV. 57. 8 ab. The word is sometimes used as a neuter noun meaning 'happiness, prosperity'; cf. X. 126. 7. -*Vytrāśi* : This word in the neuter gender signifies 'an enemy' in general; compare among others, VII. 82. 1c. In the masc. gender on the other hand, it always means *Vytra*, the demon, only.

31

(1-2) These two verses are very difficult to interpret. They no doubt contain a reference to the ancient law of inheritance, but as to their exact import, there is no agreement among the scholars. Personally, I am inclined to believe with Ludwig and Oldenberg, that the stanzas refer to the well-known incest committed by Father Dyauh on his daughter the Dawn, and from which the Aṅgirasas were born and afterwards nursed by their elder brother Agni (Agni is the son of Dyauh; cf. X. 45. 1); cf. I. 71. 5, 8; IV. 1. 12. &c. But as will be seen, I have differed from Oldenberg in some important respects. In my opinion, the following is the real import of the stanzas:—Agni and Uṣas are the two children of Dyauh Pīṭā. Ordinarily the daughter would not have got an equal share from the paternal property with the brother. But when she bore a son from her father, as the result of the incest, there arose an extraordinary case. In the name of this new-born child, she could claim an equal share from Agni. Agni however, wanted to avoid this. He knew that the equal share could be claimed by his sister only through and as the guardian of the child. He therefore, cunningly took possession of the child itself and became its guardian, thus depriving his sister of the equal share. This is how Agni became the guardian of the Aṅgirasas and kept both the shares to himself.

The following are the explanations offered by Sāyana, Oldenberg and Geldner. (1) Sāyana:—The sonless father [vahni] after stipulation [śāsat] exacts the son's duties (naptyam) from his daughter, when as a wise man, he pleases [saparyan] her husband [ṛtasya didhitim]. Because then, his daughter's protector [duhituh pīṭā] i.e. his son-in-law unites with her, dropping his semen, only with a pleasure-seeking mind [śagmyena manasā], (and not with the desire of having a son). The bodily son does not allow his sister to have the inheritance; but makes her merely the receiver of her husband's child [garbham nidhānam = garbhasya nidhānam]. Though the parents produced both the son [vahni] (and the daughter), yet only one of them i.e. the son, becomes doer of the good things [sukrtih, gen. of sukṛtu], such as the offering of the funeral rice-ball, while the other i.e. the daughter goes on merely decorating her body [pradhān]. According to

did not desire to give any share of the paternal property to his sister (Uṣas). He therefore made his sister's new child [garbhām] the treasure of the winner [sanitūr nīdhānam] (i.e., key to success, and as such kept it in his possession). For he knew full well that when his mother brought him and his sister forth, (she intended that), of the two good children, one (i.e., Vahni) should be an active worker and the other (i.e., Uṣas), only a helpmate of his [rodhan] (or of

Sāyana, the stanzas contain a direct reference to the law of inheritance, at the beginning of the hymn; cf. 'Kuśkāḥ prasasigāt kāśicit sāstrārtham brūte'. Obviously his interpretation is forced. (2) Oldenberg :—When the Father approached his daughter with passion, his son Vahni went away to the daughter of his daughter, and taught her as the knower of rta, (about the sin of the incest? about the law of succession?). Agni, the *tāvare* of Dyauh, did not want to give the inheritance to his sister. He therefore, made the embryo a winner's property. He then entered a mother's womb, i.e. went to the waters and the woods in order to get the better of the offspring of the incest. (Why he could not do so in his usual form is more than we can explain). Thus the *mātarak* bring him forth, whereby also a *sukṛi* as a *kertā* and another as his promoter spring forth—Are they Mātarisvā and Bhṛgu?—Noten I. pp. 240-241. (3) Geldner, Ub.—'Knowing (the law) and highly valuing the knowledge of the law, the oblation-carrier came to the grand-daughter of [the father through his] daughter, guiding her, whereby the father also emulated with a righteous mind, while he let the flow of his daughter be brought to himself. The bodily son has not allowed the inheritance to his sister. He treats her womb as a treasure-box of the winner. When the mothers (fingers? Aragis?) produce the carrier of the sacrifice, one of the two pious men becomes the producer and the other gets the benefit out of it.' In the opinion of Geldner, the two stanzas contain an allegory in which the human priest and his sacrificial fire are the principal figures. The *pīṭā* in 1c is the human priest, who produces the fire. His daughter is the ladle, whose daughter again is the ghee-offering. The newly born fire claims this last (1 ab) and the father prevents him from doing it. The ladle is the sister of Agni and Agni does not allow the paternal inheritance i.e. the offering to be possessed by the sister (2 a). The contents of her *Gerbha* go to the brother i.e. Agni (2 b). In this course of events, the priest is the physical producer of Agni and the other i.e. the *yajamāna* gets its benefit. All this, however, is not very convincing.

(2) *Sanitūr nīdhānam* :—Something that is placed down for any one who can possess it, or which is meant for the winner at a contest. Or it may be something like an amulet, which is laid down on the ground and when trodden, is sure to lead a person to success; Cf. I. 163. 5b. cd :—It will be seen that I take these lines very differently. *Mātarak* (*āpash* are meant) is the mother of Vahni and Uṣas. When she brought forth these two good children she intended one of them i.e. the brother Agni to be an active worker and the other i.e. the sister, to be merely his help-mate. But now Uṣas was going to be an active worker by getting the share through her child and Agni desired to prevent this. He therefore, took possession of the child and prevented Uṣas from doing something against the intentions of

her husband?). (3) Agni was born with his quivering flames to honour and help the sons (i.e., the Aṅgirasas) of the great and ruddy (Dyauh, in this manner). Great was the embryo and great was their birth; they are the strength [pravṛt] of Haryāśva by means of their sacrifices. (4) The victorious hosts (i.e., the Aṅgirassas) waited upon the fighting Indra; they recognised the great light (of the Dawn and the other luminaries) from out the darkness (in Vala's cave). The Dawns, knowing him (as their liberator) came towards him and then did Indra become the sole undisputed lord of the cows. (5) The wise (Aṅgirassas) dug out (a path reaching) upto (the cows) dwelling in the strong (fortress of Vala); the seven priests urged themselves forward with a bold [prācā] spirit. They discovered all the paths of Rta. Knowing these, Indra entered (the cave of Vala) with respect (for the Aṅgirassas). (6) When Saramā found out the

their mother. (3) *Pravṛt*=*pravṛdh* (from *pra* + *vṛdh* and not *Vṛyt* as Śāyana takes). (4) Supply *vīś* in *a* with Śāyana or better still *pravīḍah* from v. 3. They are the Aṅgirassas (Maruts-Śāyana; Dawns-Grass), who with their sacrifices and active co-operation helped Indra in destroying Vala and liberating the cows and the light from his cave. These exploits of the Aṅgirassas are described with great enthusiasm by our poet, in vv. 4-11. (5) *Sapta Vīḍik* are the Aṅgirassas; cf. IV. 1. 12-13; 2. 15; VI. 22. 2. They are called 'sapta' because they are conceived as the original representatives of the seven priests required for a soma sacrifice in its earliest R̥gvedic form. cf. III. 7. 7c; 10. 4c; IV. 42. 8b; 16. 3c; VIII. 60. 16a; IX. 92. 2d; X. 35. 10b; 63. 7 ab. See also Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 144. -c :-*Rtaśya pathyā* is 'the right or the proper way.' According to Geldner, Glossar, it means 'the path of ritualism.' d :—Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner take *tā* as equal to *tāk* against the Padapāṭha. Geldner, who thinks that the sense of the passage is that the example set down by the Aṅgirassas on this occasion is followed by their followers in all their ritualistic practices, translates as follows:—'A wise man enters into these (paths of *rta*) by devotion.' Oldenberg is against taking *tā* = *tāk*; his translation is 'He who knows this, is introduced into these (things i.e. the meditation and enjoyment of these achievements) by devotion.' Grassmann considers Indra as the subject of *vīḍek*: 'Knowing the way, Indra went in towards the cows'. I think he is right, in spite of Ludwig's objection (V. p. 66). But *tā*, which he takes as referring to the cows, need not be construed with *vīḍek* as he has done. With Śāyana, I connect the word with *prajñam*, which is an adj. of Indra. Thus *d* means:—'Knowing those (brave deeds of the Aṅgirassas described in *abc*), Indra entered (Vala's cave) with respect for them.' Nor is *nāmaśvāt* with Indra very objectionable as it looks at first sight, particularly so because the Aṅgirassas are semi-divine beings. Cf. *arcas* in v. 8 (= *arcas* in v. 7) and *kāraṇa jarṣayuḥ* at X. 61. 23, *stomam fūjuṣa nāmaśvāt* at X. 61. 25 (see Oldenberg on the passage at Nōten, II. p. 268), *aditek nāmaśvāt dātṛam* at I. 185. 3 and *nāmaśvānta Mitrāvarṇa* at V. 62. 5. (6) *Adreḥ Rupgas* :—i.e. the vulnerable point of the rocky stall of Vala. *Mahi pāreyam pāthas* : 'the great and ancient food or protection' is the cow, the same as *prāgñam rata* in v. 10; cf. also I. 72.

fissure in the rocky cave (of Vala), she at the same time found out [sadhryak kah] the great and ancient food (or protection, i.e., the cows) thereby. The light-footed Saramā led (herself or Indra and Ahgirassas) into the presence [agram] of the never-perishing (cows). As she well recognised it, she was the first to go in the direction of their bellowing. (7) The great poet (i.e., the leader of the Ahgirassas) went (to the mountain), seeking its friendship; and the mountain did sweeten its contents for the pious man (i.e., kept the cows ready for delivery). The brave god, fighting along with his youthful friends (Maruts) did win (the cows), and then immediately did Angiras begin to sing. (8) "Being a match for every living being, the Leader knows all the creatures; he kills Suṣṇa. Our friend Indra, respecting us and being our guide to heaven eager for plunder, has freed us, his friends, from dishonour." (9) With a mind eager

8cd. -*Kah* :—discovered, made manifest, brought to light' &c. The root *vṝk* is repeatedly used in this sense in the context of Uṣas displaying her light. The poet means to say that by discovering the fissure, Sar. secured the cows as well, because Indra was thereby able to secure them, after breaking open the stall of Vala. So the real credit of securing them belongs to Saramā. Ludwig takes *pāthas* to mean 'place of protection, i.e. fort' (She stormed at once the great old fort) thus deriving it from *vṝpā* 'to protect'. Geldner derives the word similarly, but takes *ab* as the direct words of the gods, who according to him discuss about Saramā's help to themselves in these lines: 'If Saramā finds out the fissure in the rock, she will only complete her earlier favour (*pāthas*).'¹ Säyanā derives the word from *vṝpā* 'to drink', but interprets differently:—'When she discovered &c., Indra gave her the great food, promised by him earlier (*pūrṇyam*), together with other things.' Oldenberg on the other hand, thinks that *pāthas* in RV. always means 'a place' and takes the line to mean: 'She makes the great old place united with (the rest of the world from which it was so far segregated)'. Cf. ZDMG. 54. p. 606. -e:—Supply *āśvānam* or *Indraw* as the object of *nayat* and take *agram* as an accusative of place. *Akṣarāk* are the cows. It is evident that the poet is anxious to give the credit of the discovery of the cows to Saramā as said above. In *cd*, he gives us the reason why this Saramā could become the leader of the gods, in this enterprise. She was light-footed and had a sharp sense of hearing. She therefore could first hear the bellowing of the cows imprisoned in Vala's cave (*d*) and could go to them without being detected by Vala's guards (implied in *c*). Owing to these qualities, she could lead the gods to the cows. (7) *Adrik* is the rocky cave of Vala. *vṝśud*=*savd* 'to sweeten, cook, keep ready for service' &c. -*maryoh* is Indra as in I. 173. 2d. -*makkasya*: denom. from *makkas*. *Makkas* 'strength' and *makha* 'strong' (III. 34. 2) are both from *vṝmakk* 'to fight', which has to be inferred from these words, but which is not actually found in RV. (8) This is the actual song of Ahgiras. *arcav* (from *vṝarc* 'to shine') means 'glorious'; cf. I. 80. 12-13; IV. 16. 3b; I. 92. 3a &c. Or construe *nak arcav* 'honouring us' (cf. *nāmasā vīśā* in v. 5d), from *vṝarc* 'to sing, praise' &c. (9) *Sodasam* 'sitting down' is the sacrificial session. *Māśāv* 'months'

for cows, the (Angirasas) sat down (at their sacrifice), preparing a path for the immortal ones (i.e., Indra and Maruts) with their hymns. This sitting down of theirs is indeed very great [bhūri], through which, the Rta, they sought to win the months. (10) Being eager to draw the milk of the ancient seed (i.e., the cow), (the Angirasas) rejoiced in their own property, when they looked at it. Their war-cry deafened (lit. heated) the two worlds ; in the midst of beings [jāte], they established the powerful (Indra) [niṣṭhām] and among the cows, they placed brave men. (11) When offerings were ready and hymns were sung, Indra, the slayer of Vṛtra, drove out the cows (from the cave of Vala). The ever-wandering and lovable cow bringing him the nourishing food, yielded the sweet dainty (i.e., the milk) to him. (12) They (i.e., the Angirasas) created for him

i.e. the different divisions of time. This they secured by securing the Sun. Or take *māsān* as an accusative of time. 'By means of which (saddā), they secured the (cows), through several months ; the Sattra of the Angirasas is said to have lasted for ten months ; cf. V. 45. 7d. (10) *Sām* i.e. their own property, the cow, -*pāthava rītas* is the same as *mahi pūruyam pāthak* of v. 6. -*d* :—*Adadhiś* is accented and thus properly belongs to what follows. It should however, be understood twice. The line is variously interpreted. Śayana :—'After conquering, they established order [niṣṭhām], and appointed guards to protect the cows.' Geldner :—'They distributed themselves among the aftergrowth [jātsa] (of the imprisoned cows) ; they distributed men over the cows.' He takes *niṣṭhā* in the sense of 'division'. Grassmann :—'Among the aftergrowth [jātsa like Geldner] they established a supervisor [niṣṭhām] and men among the cows'. Ludwig construes *niṣṭhām* and *adadhiś* together as one word and considers this as a kind of periphrastic perfect. He construes :—*jāte = jātesu* (*goṣu*) *vīrān niṣṭhām adadhiś* i.e. : 'The Angirasas set up their warriors when the cows made their appearance'. I have followed Oldenberg in the translation. Like him and Grass., I take *niṣṭhā* as a masc. noun meaning 'strong or firm' ; cf. IX. 110. 9c. It refers to Indra. *Goṣu vīrān* :—Angirasas placed brave men in the midst of cows ; so that they shall never be in want of them. (11) *ab* :—construe : *havyeś arkaś ca jātebhūt*. Śayana takes all the three words as the adj. of Maruts understood ; 'as soon as the praiseworthy Maruts fit to be invoked, came to his assistance [jāta].' Ludwig construes as in our trans., but also proposes the emendation 'svedahavyeś' for *sed u havyeś*. The word, which means 'priests who offer perspiringly' occurs at L 121. 6 ; 173. 2. The repetition of *se* in *a* seems to imply some sort of contrast between *jātebhūt* and *havyeś*. Should we take them both as adj. of *arkaś*? 'Whether the hymns were already offered [jāta] or whether they were yet to be offered [havya : *havya* *arkaś* like the *havya* *īśīś* at X. 147. 2] ; or of *Merudhūt* supplied? 'Whether the Maruts were already there or whether they were yet to be called upon &c.? ' The meaning in either case would be that Indra was powerful to drive out the cows without the assistance of either the hymns or the Maruts. *d* :—Cf. III. 30. 14c ; 39. 6a. (12) For the cosmological activities of the Angirasas, cf. X. 68. 11. -*c* :—*Sāmabhās* is either the mid-air (cf. III. 38. 3d), or the Sun. H. & E.

(Indra) a home as for a father, because the pious ones did conceive of such a vast and glorious (home i.e., the mid-air). Holding apart the two mothers (i.e., Heaven and Earth) by means of a pillar (i.e., mid-air), they sat down and set up on high the swift (Sun). (13) Since the great Dhīṣāṇḍ has set down for smashing (Vṛtra) him, who grows powerful in an instant and pervades the two worlds, and in whom all faultless hymns commingle, all invincible powers (are given) to Indra. (14) I long for your mighty friendship and powers. Countless hymns approach the slayer of Vṛtra. (But) our hymn is great; (and so) we have obtained the favour of the great Patron (Indra). Please be our protector, oh Maghavan. (15) Having conquered vast lands and ample riches, Indra immediately sends to his friends the moving property (i.e., the cow). Glorious [didyānah] Indra with the help of his warriors (i.e., the Maruts), produced together the sun, the Dawn, the path (i.e., the sacrifice), and the fire. (16) This friend of the house [damūnah] let loose in the same direction the mighty and all-lovely rivers. Flowing forward through days and nights, the sweet streams [madhvah], purified by

mingle up together through darkness, by dispelling which, the sun holds them apart. Āśināḥ i.e. at a sacrifice. (13) Dhīṣāṇḍ from *v'dhē* 'to support', has got various meanings in RV. Thus it means 'a song' at III. 2, 1; 'a goddess of plenty' at III. 49. 4; 'a goddess of inspiration' at III. 32, 14 and our passage; 'Heaven and Earth' at III. 49. 1 and so on. In the opinion of Oldenberg, SBE. 46. p. 121ff, the original meaning of the word was 'an implement used as a support for the pressing stones' and the different later meanings are to be traced to this one -*śimathr*: Dative of the reduplicative noun from *v'math*. c :—Cf. III. 36. 6-7; 46. 4; 51. 2 &c. (14) *Niyatāt*: Usually this word, derived from *ni* + *Vyu* 'to yoke', means a horse, in the RV. But because a hymn is often conceived as a horse of a deity, it is sometimes used also in the sense of a hymn. All such cases, therefore, must be considered as examples of a Vedic Rūpaka or Atisayoki. In our passage it is the latter. At VI. 47. 14b, it is the former. (15) *Pāṇḍit candraṁ* :—An *s* is developed before the Vedic word *candra* in the Samhitā acc. to Pāṇini, VI. 1. 151. This *s* is however metrically awkward in several places: cf. Oldenberg, Noten, I. p. 23. -*Didyānah*: Perhaps Indra is so called in view of what he is said to have produced i.e. the sun &c. But even non-shining things like a prayer or a priest are called *suditayak* (I. 159. 4) or *Didayat* (VI. 16. 35). *Gātum* is the same as *yajñam*; cf. above v. 9b and VII. 78. 3 and 80. 2. (16) *vibhāsk* is accus. pl. -*Damūnah*: usually this is an epithet of Agni; but here and at I. 123. 3 it is used of Indra and at I. 141. 11, of Savitā. c :—*Madhvah* is either nom. pl. or gen. sing. with *dhārayād* supplied in view of III. 36. 7. *Kavībhik pasitrah* :—From the ever clear waters of the flowing rivers, the poet infers the existence of some extraordinary underground filters by which they are purified. *Himavanti*: The root usually occurs with an accu. Here (and also at I. 33. 8c and IX. 22. 1c) we may supply *tanvam* in view of *tessu*

wise (*i.e.*, invisible) filters, urge themselves to speed. (17) The holy dark (and bright) repositories of treasures (*i.e.*, the Night and the Dawn) yield themselves to (the power of) the Sun on account of your greatness, when, oh Indra, your impetuous but amiable friends surround you to direct your greatness (towards the offender). (18) A strength-giving and all-beloved [viśvāyuh] Bull as you are, be the lord of our gentle hymns, oh slayer of Vṛtra. Being a great god, come to us with your blissful friendships, hastening with your great succours. (19) Worshipping him with reverence like Āṅgiras, I compose a new hymn (like) his old one, to the ancient god [sanyase]. Break through the many godless evil spirits and appoint us to gain the sun's light, oh Maghavan. (20) The purifying waters (*i.e.*, the rivers) have spread themselves wide (before us); carry us safely beyond them. You are a leader, Indra; save us from harm and make us the winners of cows every now and then. (21) The overlord of cows and the killer of Vṛtra has sent us

himself at X. 28. 12b. (17) *Kṛṣṇa* (*ekāśeṣa dvandva*) *sasudhīḥ* are the Night and the Dawn. Cf. IV. 48. 3a. *Kṛṣṇā* (III. 16. 3 b) or *Kṛṣṇi* (VII. 71. 1) is the Night. Supply *ejas* as the object of *amī* *śibute* in view of VI. 18. 15b. *Mashāñi* is Instr. sing. In c, supply *varruh* after *pari*. The whole stanza means:—‘when his friends surround Indra in order to direct his greatness towards an offender, all beings including Night and Dawn do the duties assigned to them for fear of punishment.’ *Kāmyāk*—cf. VII. 57. 3. (18) *Viśvāyuh*: ‘belonging to all beings’, ‘loved by all’ &c. Agni and Indra are often so called. *Sarayam*: Denom. from *saraya*. (19) *Sanyase*: this is the dat. of *Sanyas*, comp. of *azna* ‘old’. Sīyana and Ludwig do not seem to be right in taking this as a verbal noun. The word occurs thrice, (III. 31. 19; VIII. 24. 26; 67. 18) always contrasted with the adj. *novya*. *-Purājām*: this is an instance of a Luptopāmī. The poet compares himself with Āṅgirasas and his new hymn with their old one. *Seah sātaye*: see note on 30. 20 above. (20) *Mihāt pāvakāk* metaphorically mean ‘dangers and difficulties’. The word *āpah* and its synonyms are used in this sense in RV; cf. VII. 32. 27. The words *āptiher* and *āptiherya*, which are to be derived from *āpah*, also show the same. And this is but natural in the days when the Vedic Aryans were pressing forward through ‘the land of rivers’ and when every single victorious march against an enemy included the crossing of one or more rivers. Very probably in our passage (and also at VII. 32. 27) the word seems to have been used punningly and hence the adj. *pāvakāk*. Ludwig’s emendations *pāpakāk* or *pataṅgāk* are rightly rejected by Oldenberg. The first is against metre and the form is comparatively modern; the second, though rendered possible by T. Br. II. 5. 8 is yet unnecessary. Even the emendation *pāvaka* (adj. of Indra) suggested by Oldenberg is unnecessary for reasons given above, though Indra is called *pāvaka* at VIII. 13. 19. e.—The line has a Jagati cadence. Arnold, Vedic Metre, p. 299, corrects by reading *so* after *tvaṁ*. (21), *Kṛṣṇāk* probably refers to the dark races of the non-Aryans; cf. VIII. 73. 18b. But the use of the words *dākṣmabhit* and *gāk* and *ā* suggest that punningly, Indra

the cows. He has pierced through the dark ones by means of his red lustres. Directing the feelings of kindness, he has flung open all his doors according to the Rta. (22) = 30/22.

32

(1) Drink this Soma, this libation of the mid-day, which is dear to you, oh Indra, lord of Soma. Unyoking the horses with puffed up lips, be delighted here, oh Maghavan. (2) Drink the bright Soma mixed with cow's milk and properly stirred up with barley flour [manthinam] ; we have offered it for your delight. Pour it down (into your belly) with joy [trpat], together with the Rudras, the host of Maruts, who sing hymns to you. (3) Drink at the midday libation, oh Indra with Vajra in your hand and possessed of beautiful lips, along with the Rudras, the Maruts who increased your strength and vehemence by singing in praise of your powers. (4) (For), these Maruts, who were the host of Indra and being urged by whom he reached the vitals of Vṛtra who thought he had no vitals, did indeed praise his Soma-begotten (power). (5) Accepting our libation like Manu's, drink Soma for abundant vigour. Come to us through our sacrifices, oh Haryāva. You cause to flow the waters and the streams with the help of the swift-moving (Maruts). (6) Because, after killing the godless Vṛtra who lay sluggishly encompassing the divine waters

as the Sun, piercing the forces of darkness by his rays and flinging open the doors of their forts is also intended. This then would be a fine example of the Vedic Slesa Alashikāra. -ed :—Indra sets down a good example of kindness to others by keeping open his own doors to his supplicants.

32

(1) *Sipre* signifies some part of the mouth connected with drinking, probably the lips. *Prapruθya Sipre* means either 'widely opening the lips to drink' (cf. I. 101. 10, where *vi syasva* corresponds to our *prapruθya*) or, 'puffing up and rounding the lips to produce the peculiar sound in order to stop the horses', as Geldner suggests. (2) *Mantha* or *Manthin* is the soma mixed up by stirring with some other substance like barley flour ; cf. X. 86. 15 and *yasidīrem* at III. 42. 7. -*Brahmakyōtō gavena* : i.e. the host of Maruts who sing hymns in praise of Indra ; cf. I. 85. 2 ; V. 29. 2 ; 30. 6 &c. —*Rudravīk* : The Maruts are often so called (cf. I. 85. 2 ; 39. 4 &c.), though usually they are called Rudri's sons. (4) Supply *ojas* from v. 3 in *a*, or take *madhūmat* adverbially. 'They sweetly praised'. For the latter, cf. I. 78. 5 ; III. 33. 5 ; VIII. 8. 11 ; 51. 10 ; V. 11. 5 ; X. 113. 8. (where we get *madhūmat* as an adj. of a hymn). -d :—The peculiar use of the root *V man* whose object is put in the same case with its subject, should be noted ; cf. I. 178. 5 ; II. 23. 12 ; V. 17. 2 ; 32. 3. (5) -*Sarasyu* is an adj. from the denom. *sarasyati*. *Arṣas* (III. 32. 11), *arṣam* (III. 22. 3) and *arṣā* (fem. I. 174. 2) are all derived from *Vpn* (5. p.) and mean the same thing ;

with your active weapon, you let loose the rivers to rush onward like mares at a race. (7) We honour with our hymn, the great, mighty, noble, ageless and ever young Indra, who deserves a sacrifice and whose greatness even his dear Rodasi (Heaven and Earth) have not comprehended, though they have physically contained it. (8) Many indeed are the good deeds of Indra; none of the gods transgresses the laws of him who, a performer of miracles, supported the earth and also this heaven and produced the Sun and the Dawn. (9) That really is your greatness, that you drank Soma just after you were born, oh guileless god. Neither the heavens nor the days, nor the months nor the years can resist the power of you who are mighty, oh Indra. (10) Just after you were born, you drank Soma in the highest heaven for the sake of wild delight, oh Indra. And when you entered Heaven and Earth (after growing great), you became the foremost supporter of your singers. (11) Being stronger, you slew the struggling Ahi lying across the rivers [arpas], oh strong-born god. Even the Heaven did not equal you in greatness when with your single hip you obscured the entire earth. (12) The sacrifice indeed has invigorated you, oh Indra, as also the dear oblation accompanied by the pressed out Soma. Deserving a sacrifice, help the sacrifice with sacrifice; a sacrifice has

apo ergā in our passage means 'rain water and through it, the rivers'. (6-7) The accent of the only verb *asyah* according to the Padapāṭha, in v. 6, shows that the stanza must be construed as a subordinate clause. In that case, we must look for the principal sentence in the next stanza. This is how the two stanzas are construed by Sāyana, Ludwig and Geldner. Oldenberg on the other hand, following Grassmann, construes v. 6 by itself. He takes *yat Vyāram jaghavēśān* as the subordinate and *pra asyāh &c.* as the principal clause. It should be noted how no change of accent in the Saṁhitā is involved in this construction, though the Padapāṭha is contradicted, since whether *asyah* is accented or not, we would get the same accent in the sandhi of *pra* and *asyah*. It is also possible that the author of the Padapāṭha may have wrongly accented the verb owing to the misleading *yat*, which really belongs to *jaghavēśān* (standing for *jaghavēśa*). c :—Sāyana and ēvara seem to be contrasted. -*Mamatur na māmātē*: The two perfect forms of the same root appear to have been used in two slightly different senses. The first means 'physically contain' while the second means 'mentally contain i.e. comprehend.' -*Priye* is significant: 'Even your dearest do not know your greatness; what to say about others?' (8) a :—Cf. III. 30. 13d; 34. 6b. -d :—Produced i.e. set free from Vala's cave; cf. III. 31. 15; 39. 5d &c. (9) b :—Cf. III. 48. 2, 4. (10) cd :—'On growing great, you outdid all other gods in favouring your worshippers.' (11) *Tavyām* :—comp. from *Vtu*. -*Avesyādā* from *√vas* 'to dress or cover.' cf. X. 119. 7. (12) The stanza describes the all-absorbing importance of sacrifice. -*Miyedha* is only another form of *mēdha* necessitated by metre. It occurs 10 times in the RV, and always at the end of a line, where

helped your bolt in the slaughter of Ahi. (13) I brought here Indra for protection through a sacrifice (in the past); may I bring him (now) for a fresh favour—Indra, who is glorified by the ancient, the mediæval and also the modern songs. (14) When the Dhiṣāṇā filled me up, it produced (this hymn). Let me praise Indra before the decisive day, so that he may carry us safe through dangers as in a boat, on that day. Both (the warring parties) invite him because he goes (when invited). (15) His cup is filled; hail! I have filled his vessel to overflowing, like a water-carrier. The dear Soma juices have approached Indra for his delight from left to right. (16) Neither the deep ocean nor the encompassing mountains could oppose you, oh oft-invited Indra, when thus urged, you broke open even the strongest stall of the cows for your friends. (17) = 30/22.

33

(1) Vipāś and Śutudrī rush forward with the mass of their water from the bosom of the mountains, eager like two rival [hāsamāne]

medha is unsuitable. That *medha* was the original form is also shown by such compounds as *medhāyu*, *medhāśati*, *medhātithi*, and *medhikā*. The Avestic word *myəza* which is nearer to *miyedha* need not lead us to believe the contrary. (13) a :—*Avasā* is often used in the place of *avasā*; cf. I. 182. 7; 185. 6; V. 46. 6 &c. Geldner takes *avasā* as standing in apposition to *yajñena*, but this is unnecessary, 'I brought Indra with his protection' ultimately means 'I brought Indra for my protection'. (14) *Dhiṣāṇā*: see note on 31. 13. *Dhiṣāṇā*, the goddess of inspiration, is said to have inspired the deity at I. 102. 7 and III. 31. 13, while here and at I. 102. 1, she is said to have inspired the singer. —*Pṝtyam akṣau* or *dya* is the day which is to be crossed through, thus the day of the decisive battle; cf. VI. 17. 14; 40. 5; VII. 32. 21; 83. 5 &c. —*Yathā* and *Yatra* :—The first is a conjunction meaning 'so that' and the second is a pronoun referring to 'akṣau' in b. —*nōvā yau* seems to go with c in view of such passages as I. 97. 7; 99. 9; II. 39. 4; V. 25. 9. Sāyana, Geldner and also Oldenberg construe it with *yāntam* :—'Both parties call upon him, as wayfarers on both the banks of a stream call upon a boatman.' This is indeed more poetical but the word *nōvā yau* for 'a boatman' does not seem to be sanctioned by the Rgvedic usage. (15) b :—*Sktieva*: The simile of a water-carrier shows 'profuseness' of the soma juice. —*Avavyatram* has a causal sense here ('have brought Indra') acc. to Grassi and Ludwig. —*Pradaksigīt*: because the soma is placed to the right side of the Vedi. (16) Construe *īthā* with *isitāḥ* as at III. 42. 3. The stanza refers to the breaking of Vala's cave. *Adreyak* are the same as the *asri* in III. 31. 7b; but where does the *gabhirah śubhah* come in? Does it refer to the deep rivers in which Vṛtra was lying or to the formidable river Rasā? Cf. X. 108, 1. —*Sakhībhīyah*: The Ahirassas. This word also supplies the subject of *isitak*, i.e., *sakhībhīk*.

33

The hymn contains an address by Viśvāmitra to the two rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī (modern Beas and Sutlej in the Punjab) requesting them to

mares let loose (at a race) and like two beautiful mother-cows licking (their calves). (2) Being urged by Indra you move towards the ocean as though borne on a car, seeking a rapid course. Flowing together and swelling with your waves, each one of you mingles with the other, oh bright streams. (3) Viś :—I have approached the most motherly stream. We have come to the broad and beautiful Vipāś. (We have come to you two), who like two mother-cows licking each her calf, flow through the common bed. (4) The Rivers :—Swelling thus with our waters, we are moving forward through the bed which is prepared for us by the gods. Our rapid stream, moving with-speed

allow his patron Sudāś and the Bharatas to cross. It has the form of a dialogue between the sage and the rivers, who are represented to have ultimately granted the sage's request after great persuasion. This great priestly exploit of Viśvāmitra is also casually mentioned at III. 53. 9. It is, however, very strange that though in the latter place, King Sudāś is mentioned as being helped to cross the river, no mention of him is made in the present hymn where the exploit is described in full details.

The hymn has no liturgical significance. It belongs to that class of secular hymns in the RV., which are called 'Akhyāna hymns' by Oldenberg. According to this Akhyāna theory of Oldenberg, all such dialogue hymns originally consisted of a few stanzas with a settled form, containing the kernel of the story, and were accompanied by supplementary explanations in prose, whose form however was unsettled, as they were supplied by the individual bards according to tradition. These latter vanished in course of time and only the former remained. Such hymns, therefore, mark the beginnings of epic narrative poetry in RV. In the opinion of Sylvan Lévi and L. Schroeder, this theory is not satisfactory. They consider that the hymns under discussion can be better and more naturally explained with the help of a dramatic setting rather than with that of the prose supplements. Thus according to them, these pretty little dramas, which were usually staged during the leisure hours of the long Vedic sacrifices, must be considered as the relics of ancient Indian Dramatic Poetry. For a further discussion of the question, cf. Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 13 ff.

(1) *b* :—Cf. S2. 6b above. The root *vāś* 'to contend' is probably developed out of *vā* 'to go' with the addition of the desiderative *s* but no reduplication. Of the two similes, the first indicates great speed, the second, 'loveliness due to affection'. (2) *Prasava* : 'a rapid stream' in v. 2, 4, 11 ; but it means 'command' in v. 6. Derived from *pra* + *vā* 'to urge'. In the first meaning there is also perhaps a mixture of the sense of the root *vāś* (5p.) 'to press'. At IX. 50. 2, the word *prasava* is surely to be derived from this second root ; why not even here ? (3) *Mātṛgāṇḍā* : In addition to adjectives, the nouns, the verbs and even the prepositions take comparative and superlative terminations in RV ; cf. Macdonell, VGS, p. 94. (4) *Dvāṣaktam yonim* : The gods are Indra and Savitā ; cf. I. 32. 1 ; II. 15. 3 ; IV. 28. 1 ; VII. 82. 3 and v. 6 below. *Sargataktah* : *sarga* means speed ; cf. I. 169. 7, from *vṛṣṭi* ; *taktaḥ* from *v̄tak* 'to go.' Solve *sargat**taktah* ; cf. VI. 32. 5. *Kishyuk* : from *kīm* + *yu*. Such formations 'have often the aspect of being made directly from the noun with the suffix *yu* either with the meaning of "seeking" or "desiring", or with a more general

[*sargataitah*], cannot be checked. With what desire does the poet call upon the rivers? (5) *Viś* :—Stop for a moment, if you will [*evaih*], oh holy ones, (to listen) to my gentle words of request [*somyāya vacase*]. I, the son of Kuśika, desiring protection, call upon the river with a powerful hymn. (6) The Rivers :—Indra with the bolt in his arms dug us out, having killed Vṛtra who had blocked up the rivers. The divine Savitā with skilful hands has led us; under his command we flow forward with our broad streams. (7) *Viś* :—That heroic deed of Indra when he killed Ahi deserves to be praised for ever. He slew the obstructors with his bolt and the waters (*i.e.*, the rivers) seeking an outlet, flowed forth. (8) The Rivers :—Never forget these words of yours, oh singer, which the future generations shall loudly proclaim. Accept us in your hymns, oh bard; do not degrade us in the eyes of men. We bow to you. (9) *Viś* :—Listen well, oh sisters, to this bard; he has come to you from afar with wagons and chariots. Bend slightly low. Be easily fordable to us, oh rivers, with your streams flowing underneath the axles of our carts. (10) The Rivers :—We will pay heed to your words, oh bard; true, you have come from afar with wagons and chariots. I shall bend myself to you like a nursing mother [*yogī*] swelling with milk; I shall yield to you as a maiden to her lover. (11) *Viś* :—When the Bharatas—that warlike band, inspired and

adjective sense'—Whitney, Grammar, sec. 1178 (i). (5) *Somyāya vacase*: see on 32. 4 above. *Evaīh*: In RV., the noun *eva* (from *V*) has the sense of 'movement, habit, inclination' or sometimes 'a horse'. But the secu. and the instru. of this word are often used adverbially in the sense of 'habitually', 'according to will or inclination'. Cf. I. 95. 6; 100. 18a; III. 54. 9; IV. 2. 12 &c. It then corresponds to *svadhābhīh*. -*Kuśika* is the earlier name of the Viśvāmitras; see note on 53. 9 below. (6) c.: Savitā is the general impeller of things including waters; cf. II. 38. 2c. The line has only ten syllables. The restoration *dēva* or *dēva anayat* is unusually awkward. It is therefore better to take it as an originally defective line. (8) *Eśād vaca*: *i.e.*, v. 7, where Indra was praised for liberating the rivers. *Viś*, is requested not to forget what he had said and what the future generations would repeat with approbation. And remembering how he had exalted the rivers by declaring that they enjoyed the favour of the great Indra, he is further requested to praise them in his hymns and not to degrade them in the eyes of men by insisting on their stopping their currents, as it was likely to belittle them. -*Uttarā yugāni*: cf. X. 10. 10. (9) *Srotyābhīh adhoksāgāḥ*: *i.e.* let your streams be so deep as to reach only the axles of our carts when they pass through them. (10) c is said by one and d by the other river. Hence the sing. *Sāśvacai* is subj. 1st sing. like *nāśvai*. *Vśvāc* and *Vśvām* are used as synonyms as is shown by Oldenberg from the implied contrast between '*uechvacassa*' and '*ninama*' at X. 142. 6. The accent of *Sāśvacai* is irregular or due to antithesis. Sāyana takes it as the dative of the noun *śāśvac*. We may also account

urged by Indra—will have crossed you, dear ones [anga], your rapidly moving stream may rush forward (as before). I seek the favour of you who deserve a sacrifice. (12) Viś :—The war-loving Bharatas have crossed ; the poet has enjoyed the favour of the rivers. Swell on, refreshing and fertilizing ; fill up your beds and channels and roll on rapidly. (13) May your waves bear up the yoke-pins ; spare the harness, oh waters. Let not the two innocent bulls who have done no wrong, go to nothing (*i.e.*, die away).

34

(1) Indra, the breaker of forts and winner of wealth by slaying the enemies, has overpowered the Dūsa with the help of our hymns,

for the accent by taking *savvocai te* as a separate sentence. But this seems to be against the spirit of the passage. Each one of the two rivers is evidently represented as using a distinct simile for herself. (13) *Sānam vṛt* : to go to nothing, *i.e.*, to die. The verse is suspicious as it mentions the entrance into the stream for crossing, while v. 12 describes the crossing as already accomplished. Besides the modern dual forms in *au* also seem to show that the stanza may be a later interpolation. In the opinion of Geldner, the verse which is recommended as a charm for crossing a deep river with a yoked cart, at Rgividhīna, II, 2, 4 (cf. also Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya, I, 15, 20 and Kaṇṭika Gṛhya, 77, 15) is added on to our hymn owing to the similarity of the situation. Schröder, Mysterium, p. 228, on the other hand, assumes that the stanza was the actual incantation with which Viś addressed the rivers and that the whole preceding hymn was the artistic little drama which glorified the great event. In the actual representation of the drama, this last verse—this famous formula—had no place, but it could not be neglected in the orally transmitted text of the drama which was based on it and hence it was added on to it. Oldenberg, after pointing out the suspicious nature of the stanza, suggests the following explanation which may appear plausible, assuming that the stanza is genuine :—The Bharatas had crossed. Now some enemy of theirs—wicked and sinful—tried to pursue them. He straightway rushed into the stream with his chariot, but was drowned. Viś was glad that the enemy was killed, but desired that the innocent bulls be saved. The explanation is ingenious but not convincing. In the whole of the hymn, there is no suggestion whatever that the Bharatas were pursued by an enemy or that they wanted to cross the rivers in order to avoid any one. On the other hand, they are described as a victorious band. See below on 53, 11.

34

(1) *vṛday* with *vi* 'To divide, disperse', hence 'put to flight' ; cf. VI, 22, 9f. In passages like III, 2, 11 ; VI, 37, 4 ; VII, 23, 4 ; IX, 90, 2, the root has the meaning of 'to divide, distribute'. Probably in the two sets of passages, the preposition *vi* has to be taken in two different senses. Thus in the first (*i.e.*, III, 34, 1 ; IV, 7, 10 ; VI, 22, 9) it reverses the sense of the verb and *vi* + *vṛday* means 'not to give, not to take pity on', hence 'to destroy'. In the second set, however, it merely extends the meaning of the root and means 'to give freely, distribute widely'.

Inspired by our prayers and increasing in body, he the giver of numerous gifts, has filled both the worlds. (2) Seeking to serve the immortal one, I send forth this hymn as an urge to you, the violent and mighty god. You are the leader of both the human tribes and the celestial beings, oh Indra. (3) Indra encompassed the encompasser [Viṣṭra], employing physical strength [śardhanītih] ; he destroyed the wiles of the wily demons, employing his knowledge of magic transformation [varpaṇītih]. Burning eagerly in the woods, he slew Vyāhrsa and made manifest the cows of the nights. (4) Indra the great Defender [ahisṭih] and winner of Sun's light, conquered the armies (of the demon Viṣṭra) and produced the days, with the help of the eager priests (i.e., the Āṅgirases). He brightened up the flag

A similar instance is perhaps to be seen in the use of the root *vi* + *Vṛtr*, which either means 'to destroy, overcome', or 'to advance, prosper', according as *vi* extends or reverses its meaning. (2) *Amṛtāya bhūṣan* go together as in III. 25. 2, and *vīcām* is to be taken as the object of *tyāmi*. -*Vīśām* : The Rgvedic poets generally distinguish between three classes of subjects yielding to the rule of the gods, namely, (a) the celestial, (b) the human, and (c) the herbal ; cf. III. 6. 3 ; II. 4. 3 ; III. 34. 2 ; 20. 4 ; IX. 103. 5 ; VII. 56. 22 ; 61. 3 ; 70. 4. At one place, even the *Dādh* *vīśas* are mentioned ; cf. II. 11. 4. (3) *Vṛtrō asvayot* is a sort of *Viśarṇīśāṅkāra* ; so also *māyīnām māyāb amīndi*. -*Sardhanītih* : *Nīti* is used almost in the later classical sense of 'policy, political behaviour', as Geldner happily suggests. *Sardha* and *varpas* are evidently contrasted with each other as the means employed to overpower an enemy. *Sardha* is 'physical strength' while *varpas* is 'body' i.e., 'bodily transformation' which is brought about by 'cunning and craft'. Supply *māyāb* after *amīndi* in b, and for Indra's powers of self-transformation, cf. III. 53. 8. X. 120. 6 and also I. 32. 12, where he is said to have transformed himself into a horse's hair. -*Vyāma* is probably not different from *Vṛtr* who is so called because he lost his shoulders in his battle with Indra : Cf. I. 32. 5. -*Uśadhat svēṣeṣ* : This may mean 'burning eagerly in the woods' i.e. in the forest-forts of *Vyāma* as suggested by Geldner (Trans. p. 337), who compares I. 54. 5 on the one hand and *Manu* VII. 70 on the other. Compare also *Sāyanā 'vīṣeṣa gudhodāriṣam rākṣasam'*. But very probably, the expression is used metaphorically in our passage and means 'eagerly and easily doing the work of destruction'. It literally means 'eagerly burning in the woods' (*vīṣa* from *Vīṣa* and *dhaṣ* from *Vīdha*) and is primarily applicable to Agni ; cf. III. 6. 7 ; VII. 7. 2. It had, it seems, become a proverbial expression for 'easy and eager destruction.' -*Rāmīyādīm dherādī* are the cows stolen away and hidden in *Vāla*'s cave by the Night's darkness ; or they are the Dawns. (4) *Jauayos ahāni* : 'When about to produce the days'. The stanza refers to the fight with *Vāla* and the conquest of the cows, the Sun, the Dawn and Agni. -*Abhīgītih* with the accent on the second syllable is a fem. noun meaning 'help'. But it is an adj. meaning 'victorious defender' when the accent is on the last syllable as in our passage and at I. 9. 1 ; X. 104. 10 &c. -*Ahādām kefum* is the Dawn (cf. VI. 39. 3cd), though the moon is so described at X. 85. 19 and Agni at VII. 5. 5 and X. 88. 12.

of the day (i.e., Uṣas) for man and obtained the flame (of Fire) for his great delight. (5) Indra entered into the midst of the pressing and ever-increasing (armies of Vṛtra), performing like a hero, many brave deeds. He (thereby) inspired these hymns in his singer and increased their brilliance. (6) They praise the many well-achieved and mighty deeds of this great Indra. Possessed of overpowering might, he crushed the wicked foes by his strength [vṛjana] and the Dasyus, by his magical powers. (7) Indra in his greatness brought freedom and ease to the gods by his wars, being a great leader and a powerful ruler [carṣaniprāh]. At the house of the glorious (priest or Agni), the priestly bards praise those (deeds) of this (Indra) with their hymns. (8) Wise men [dhirajñas] find great delight in Indra, the ever-victorious, most excellent and strength-giving (god), who won the Sun's light and the celestial waters and conquered the earth and also this heaven. (9) Indra conquered (for his worshippers) the horses and also the Sun; he won the cow which feeds many. He even procured for them the enjoyments derived from gold. Having killed the Dasyus, he has always favoured the Aryan race. (10) Indra won the herbs and procured the days, the trees,

-*Jyoti* is Agni ; cf. I. 36. 19b ; VI. 9. 4b ; or also the Sun ; cf. I. 50. 10c ; 113. 1a. -*Bṛhate rājye* is = *māte rājye* at X. 9. 1 ; 95. 7. (5) Supply *ptanāh* from v. 4 in a ; Geldner takes *tujak* and *berhenāh* as fem. nouns (accu. pl.), meaning 'impatience and zeal', but whether 'tujak' *V* is, in the sense of 'to be impatient' is a Vedic or Sanskrit idiom is doubtful. On the other hand, the root *V* *taj* is often used in the sense of 'pressing forward' or 'piercing' ; cf. III. 1. 16 ; IX. 57. 2 ; 37. 6 and also III. 39. 8. -*Āśom* refers to *dhiyah* in c and not to Dawn understood ; cf. I. 143. 7d and III. 39. 2c. (6) c : *Vṛjana* has several meanings in Rv. It is derived from *Vṛjj* 'to attract, draw towards oneself &c.' and means (1) strength, (2) sacrifice, (3) war, (4) a host or a band. For the 3rd meaning, cf. 36. 4 below. According to Geldner, the word means 'wicked clasping or embrace' in our passage and in X. 27. 5 (Glossar, p. 169) ; it may perhaps mean 'a host of Maruts' as in VII. 32. 27 ; X. 27. 4 ; 42. 10. Sanskrit authorities, however, take the word here to mean 'strength' and they are, I think, perfectly right. The figure of speech noticed in v. 3 is evidently intended even here, and so also a contrast between *vṛjana* and *māyābhik*, as between *sardha* and *varpas* there. Thus *vṛjana* corresponds to *sardha* and means 'strength'. (7) *Carṣaniprāh* : 'he who fills men with gifts' is often used of Indra, but only once (IV. 2. 13) of Agni.—*Vīnuśvāh* (from *Vīvā* 'to shine') is either Agni or the human priest ; cf. I. 53. 1 ; III. 51. 3 ; X. 12. 7. At IX. 99. 2, the word is evidently used of a human priest. (8) Read *uveniyam* in a for metre. On a discussion of the relevant passages at ZDMG. 55, 270 ff., Oldenberg has arrived at the conclusion that ya of adjectives ending in ye has to be pronounced so as to yield two syllables, for the sake of metre. This has not to be done in the case of similar nouns. The rule of course, is not absolute. (9) c : Gold seems to have been mainly used for ornaments in the Vedic days. (10) c :

and the mid-air (for his singers). He pierced Vala and drove away (by his mere presence) the talkative [vivācaḥ] enemies and then became the tamer of the overbearing rebels, who dared to oppose him [abhikratūnām]. (11) = 30/22.

35

(1) Mount upon the horses yoked to your chariot; approach our prayers as Vāyu goes to his mares. Having speedily come to us [asme abhiṣṭo] please drink the Soma—hail to you—Indra. We have offered it for your delight. (2) For the sake of Puruhūta, I harness (with my hymn) to the yoke of his chariot his two swift and loyal [sapti] horses, in order that (he might come) quickly. May they bring Indra to this sacrifice which is complete in every way. (3) Bring near your mighty (horses), who save from danger [tapuspā], and favour this (sacrifier), oh self-willed Bull. Let the horses eat fodder; unyoke them. Enjoy the fried grains of the same (high) quality day after day. (4) I yoke with my hymn your swift horses, who are yoked by prayers and are your companions at a sacrifice. Having mounted upon your strong and easy-moving car, come oh Indra, wise and experienced, to our Soma. (5) Let not other sacri-

Valam bibheda; cf. Keith, Religion &c. I. p. 235. -*Vivācaḥ* are those that oppose only in words, as opposed to *abhiṣṭevas* who try to assert their strength against Indra. Indra drives the former away by his mere presence, who at once recede, though still abusing! But to the latter, he teaches a lesson which they will never forget!

36

(1) The word *niyatāk* appears to be used punningly both here and at VII. 23. 4c. It means both 'mares' and 'prayers'. Cf. note on 31. 14 above. -*c*—*Abhiṣṭo*, from *abhi* + *vṣy* 'to let loose, set free'. The root seems to have been technically used in connection with horse-racing; cf. also *sargatakiśā* at 33. 4 above and *sarga* 'speed' at I. 169. 7. (2) *Sapti* from *Vsap* 'to serve.' It usually occurs as a noun in the sense of 'a horse' in general. -*Drauṭ* is originally a pres. participle from *Vdra*, but in Rv. it is always used as an adv. in this form, but with a changed accent. In view of I. 44. 7, it should have been construed with *ś uchāte* in *d*, but the accent of the latter is against such a construction. Hence supply *ś gomāt* or so, in *c*. Western scholars generally construe *cd* together, either neglecting the accent or restoring it. -*Sambhṛtāv yajñām* :—cf. VIII. 66. 5 and also the term '*yajñāsambhārāt*'. (3) *Tapuspā* : means 'drinkers of hot soma' acc. to Grss. and Ludwig; but Indra's horses have no share in the soma like the horses of the Aśvins (cf. I. 181. 2). They merely get the 'dhanū' and the 'jīva'. Hence Sūyata and Geldner are right in taking the word to mean 'protectors from danger (*tapus* from *Vtap*)'. We might compare the word '*abhiṣṭiṣṭo*'. This construction is also favoured by the following '*ava*' in *b*. (4) *Brahmayajā* : i.e. yoked when the prayers are uttered. Construe *sadhamāde saṅkhyā*. (5) Rivalry in winning Indra's

ficers detain your mighty horses with lovely [vita] backs (on their way to us). Hasten past many (such men). Let us serve you with pressed out juices. (6) Yours is this Soma; come towards it and drink it as often as you like, with a happy mind. Seated upon this grass-seat at our sacrifice, put this Soma into your belly, oh Indra. (7) The grass seat is spread out for you, oh Indra and the soma is pressed. The fried grains are prepared for your horses to eat. Our offerings are brought to you, the Bull of abundant vigour accompanied by Maruta, as you are fond of them [tadokase]. (8) With the help of the cows, men, mountains and waters have made this (soma) full of sweetness for your sake, oh Indra. Having come along your own paths, drink of it with a happy mind, oh noble god, wise and experienced. (9) Drink this soma eagerly with the tongue of Agni, oh Indra, in company with those Maruts whom you gave a share in soma and who strengthened you by becoming your army. (10) Drink this soma at will, oh god, either with Agni's tongue or directly from the hand of Adhvaryu, when offered. Accept (the call) of the Hotr to the sacrifice of the offering. (11)=30/22.

36

(1) Lead this oblation to success, coming constantly with your succours, oh Indra, you, who grow powerful by the strengthening hymns at every pressing of soma, and who have become famous through your mighty deeds. (2) The Soma juices, by which Indra becomes skilful, strong-jointed and magnificent [vihayah], are obtainable to him from ancient days. Please accept them when they are

favour is evident in RV. almost everywhere. (6) *d* : Cf. 40. 5 and 42. 5 below. (8) *ab* :—Soma grows on mountains, is nursed by the waters, pressed by men, and mixed with cow's milk. Construe 'pathyah am agatya' in *cd*; cf. VII. 7. 2a. (9) *ab* : Cf. III. 47. 3. (10) *Svashayat* i.e. 'according to your pleasure' refers to the two alternatives mentioned in *bc*. 'You may receive your soma from Agni's mouth like the other gods, or if you are very eager and cannot wait for long, you may take it directly from the hand of the Adhvaryu before it is put into Agni's mouth.' *d* :—Construe *hoter havigo yajnam (prati akshem) yajassa*. The reference is to the *Praya* 'yaja' given by the Hotr and the *yajya* verse recited by him before the Adhvaryu actually throws the oblation into the fire. For *hoter yajnam*, cf. IV. 23. 1.

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(1) *Vardhanabhih* means 'the strengthening hymns', cf. II. 12. 14c; 39. 8ab; VI. 23. 6a. *-Mahabhih* immediately after the caesura is metrically awkward. Arnold, Vedic Metre, p. 143, proposes that we should read *mahabhih* in all such places on the analogy of VII. 37. 1d. But *mahabhih*,

offered. Drink the mighty soma, which is shaken off (from the plant) by the mighty (press-stones), oh Indra. (3) Drink, grow strong. To you, indeed, belong the pressed out soma juices, both ancient and these. Deserving our praise, drink to-day our somas as you drank those of our ancestors and be young, oh Indra. (4) Great and impetuous Indra, who presses forward in a battle, is the lord of [patyate] fierce strength and bold spirit. When the soma juices intoxicated Haryāśva, even the earth was not broad enough to contain him. (5) The great and fierce god has grown great for heroic deeds. The Bull is furnished with wisdom. Indra is as good as Bhaga. His cows are givers of strength, and his abundant gifts go on increasing continually. (6) When the rivers gained speed as it were, their waters went to the ocean as though borne on a car. (But) Indra is even greater than this resting place (of the waters, i.e., the ocean), when Soma, the milked-out stalk, fills him. (7) Like rivers meeting the ocean (with their waters), the priests with skilful hands milk the plant with their powerful arms [bharitraiḥ], bringing well-pressed soma to Indra. They purify the sweet (soma juices) by means of a stream and strainer. (8) His sides, where soma is treasured, are vast like lakes; he easily makes room for [sam vivyāca] many libations together, i.e., quaffs them in a single draught. After killing Vṛtra, when Indra took his first foods, he chose soma. (9) Do bring (us) wealth, please; none shall prevent it. We know, you are the lord of rich treasures. Bestow on us whatever great gift you have, oh Indra, lord of the bay horses. (10) Grant us wealth, ample and all-covetable, oh noble and impetuous Indra. Bestow on us a hundred years to live and many brave sons, oh Indra with beautiful lips! (11)= 30/22.

as Oldenberg points out (Noten I. p. 246), is a noun and not an adj. and hence the analogy is not helpful, and the restoration remains doubtful. (3) *Navyāśa* in *d* is used predicatively. (4) *Amatra* is an adj. from *vām* 'to attack'. As a neut. noun, it means a large soma-vessel, and is probably to be derived from *vāśa* 'to measure.' -cd : A pun on the word *pythī* is surely meant. (5) b : Though fierce and physically strong, Indra is also endowed with wisdom and caution. (6) *Ratkyeva* is perhaps a double sandhi of *rathyāk* and *iva* as Säyana suggests. (7) Supply either *sa* after *Samudreṣa* in *a* with Geldner, or *yashā* with Säyana. Oldenberg proposes to read *sammudreṣa* *sa* in view of the sense of the passage and VI. 19. 5d. Both here and in the last stanza, Indra is compared with the ocean, the priests with the rivers, and the soma which they offer with the waters of the rivers. In v. 6, Indra is considered to be even greater than the ocean. For the same simile, cf. III. 31. 13 ; 46. 4 ; 51. 2. (10) *prayendhi* is repeated from the last stanza. This may be considered as the early beginning of the Śākhalī Yamaṇa ; also cf. III. 1. 20d and 21a.

37

(1) We bring you here oh Indra, for strength to kill the enemies and for overpowering (their) armies. (2) May the priest turn your mind and eye hereward, oh Indra of a hundred powers. (3) We invoke your name with all our hymns, in a battle where proud enemies are to be conquered, oh Indra of a hundred powers. (4) Owing to the hundred powers of Indra, the supporter of men praised by many, we glorify him. (5) I call upon Indra, the oft-invited god, for killing Vṛtra and for acquiring plunder in battles. (6) Be victorious in battles; we call upon you, oh Indra of hundred powers, for killing Vṛtra. (7) Be victorious against our proud foes, oh Indra, in battles, where riches and fame that secures success in wars (are to be achieved). (8) Drink for our protection, the soma, which is exceedingly strong, bright and watchful, oh Indra of hundred powers. (9) I choose those powers of yours, which (are well-known) among the five peoples, oh Indra of hundred powers. (10) Great fame has come to you, oh Indra. Acquire glory which is difficult to surpass; let us increase your vigour. (11) Come to us from near and even from afar, oh Śakra. Come here from that world which is yours, oh Indra, wielder of the bolt.

38

(1) Like a carpenter (preparing his chariot), like a powerful and well-trained horse dashing forward (with his chariot), let me

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(1) *Vārtrahatya* is an adj. of *savas*. (3) *Nāmdui imaha*: This is the Vedic beginning of the later idea of *nāma-sakhi-kirtana*. Generally in RV. *nāma*, derived from *vnam*, has the sense of 'prayer, respect, or hymn'. (4) Supply *tam* before *mahayāmasi*. Grassmann construes differently:—'According to the desires of Indra, we glorify him with a hundred hymns.' Ludwig takes *vārthaya* in the sense of 'to be great': 'Let us be great through the hundred powers of Indra'. But it is more natural to supply *tam* as said above. Cf. III. 3. 3; VII 23. 1; 96. 1 on the one hand and III. 3. 4; 31. 21; VII. 66. 18; IX. 66. 3 and X. 93. 6 on the other. (5) *Vṛtrāya hantave*: Cf. Macdonell, VGS. p. 333. (7) *Pṛṣṭaśat*, (from *pṛṣṭ* 'a battle' and *vṛty*) is an adj. of *Savas*. -*Sākṣa* from *vash*. -*Abhimūti*: The loc. is by attraction. (8) *Jāgṛvi*: Soma is so-called because it keeps the deity watchful. (11) *U loka* is from *urvāk*; cf. Vedic Hymns, I. p. LXXIV.

38

The hymn is a cosmological one. The principal figure in it is the Asura, the Urgott, in whose services the other gods stand. This Asura is either Agni or Indra or Dyauṣ. He is conceived as both a bull and a cow, i.e. the generator and bearer of the world (v. 7). This is particularly true of Agni as is clear from X. 5. 7d. We may also compare 4b, 8b and 9c in the hymn, all of which specially apply to Agni. But since the com-

think out (*i.e.*, compose) a hymn. Being gifted with intelligence, I long to see the wise poets, on visiting the dear old (or distant) things. (2) And ask the mighty generations of the wise poets. They, the pious supporters of the spirit, fashioned out the heaven. These glorious advances of yours, assisted by the spirit, have indeed progressed in the right direction. (3) Keeping there their secret (traces), they, *i.e.*, the wise poets adorned the Rodasī for the sake of rule. With measuring tools they measured out the two broad worlds, and between the two great ones, they placed (the mid-air) for their support. (4) All surrounded him (*i.e.*, Asura) when he mounted

pilars of the Sarhūtī have put the hymn at this place, it seems that they considered Indra to be the Asura. Or perhaps even the Dyauh may be the Asura. Mitra and Varuṇa are mentioned as his *nāpātā* in 5c, and Dyauh is called Asura at I. 122. 1 ; 131. 1 &c.

The hymn is intentionally composed so as to be obscure, but the following seems to be its import :—The poet starts by planning a mental expedition to the celestial beings whom he calls poets, and who are supposed to be helping the Asura in the creation (1). He decides to ask these sages, who created the heaven and the world (2ab, 3), regarding the secrets of Creation and thinks that he is doing the right thing (2cd). These beings waited upon the Asura, when he assumed different names and forms (4). Two of them, Mitra and Varuṇa, rule over the world (5, 6). The beings further gave different names and forms to the Asura, who is both a cow and a bull (7). The Asura is next identified with Savitā (8). Lastly Heaven and Earth are requested to be near, as the protection of the mighty Asura, who in 9c again appears to be Agni.

(1) *ab* : The two similes, one of the carpenter and the other of a well-trained horse drawing a chariot, are employed to suggest that great care and skill are employed in the composition of the hymn. -*Parāpi priyāpi* are the distant happenings at the beginning of the world. *Kavīn* : They are either the divine beings or the semi-divine ancestors of man who are described as helping in the process of creation. Cf. especially, I. 159, 3-4 ; X. 5. 2-6. -*Swedhāk* corresponds to *sudhurah* in *b*. (2) *Manodhātak* : 'those who support intelligence or those who put the mind in the body' ; cf. X. 59. 5a. Being *manodhātak*, they are sure to support the poet's mental advances (*manovātā*). -*Prasya* : from *pra* + *Vñi*, means 'a lead or advance' or according to Geldner, 'intimacy, affectionate approach'. The word may either be connected with the Vedic '*prasyif*' or with the Classical '*prasya*'. The stanza may either be regarded as a self-address of the poet encouraging himself, or as an encouraging reply from the 'poets' to our poet. (3) Supply *nōmāni* or *padāni* in *a* ; cf. I. 164. 5 ; X. 5. 2 ; 53. 10 &c. In *d*, *anarikṣem* is to be supplied owing to the constant association of *Rodasī* with it ; cf. I. 73. 8 ; II. 15. 2 ; V. 85. 3 ; X. 88. 3 ; 139. 2 &c. -*Dhidyose* : from *Vñdh* 'to support', means either 'for the nourishment of man' or 'for holding apart the two worlds'. (4) In *a*, supply *ratham* as the object of *ā tishkantam* ; cf. I. 116. 17 ; V. 1. 11 ; II. 23. 3 ; V. 73. 5 ; VIII. 8. 10 &c., and in *d* supply *nōmāni* after *amṛtāni* in view of X. 123. 4, c is explained by *d* : 'When he assumed different forms, he got many im-

upon (his chariot). Dressed in splendour, the self-shining god moves about. Great is the name of the mighty Asura ; assuming all forms, he assumed the immortal (names). (5) The great ancient Bull brought forth ! Many indeed are these powers of his. By means of your wisdom, you exercise your sway over the entire Universe [vidatha] from very old days, oh kings, sons of Dyu. (6) You surrounded all the three seats (*i.e.*, the three worlds) in the Universe [vidathe], oh kings. Going there in spirit, I saw the Gandharvas with their tresses fluttering in the air, (exerting themselves) in your service [vrate]. (7) That indeed is (the great work) of this cow-bull. They, *i.e.*, the Kavis measured with names whatever belonged [sakmyam] to this cow-bull. Causing him to put forth every new Asura aspect, the wise ones also fixed the forms upon him. (8) That

mortal names and thus his name is great'. For the close association of *nâma* and *rûpa* cf. v. 7 & V. 43, 10 ; in the Upanîadic period, the pair became the corner-stone of the theory of creation. (5) *a* : The philosophical paradox of a Bull giving birth to a calf. The Bull is the same as the *Vryâs Asura* in v. 4c, *Vyâbhi dhemukh* and *gauh* in v. 7ab, and also *Vyâbhi vîshvîpuk* in III. 56. 3a. It is the 'Ur-gott'. *-b* : The line looks almost like a proverb ; cf. IV. 23. 8a. -*Svadukh* : from *v* *śyd* ; it either means 'powers' or 'strengthening food'. Yâska and Sâyana paraphrase the word by 'Rico rodhayitryak'. *-cd* is addressed to Indra or Mitra, and Varuna. I construe :—'akibhil vidathasya ksatram dadhâthe', and take *vidatâs* here and in similar passages, in the sense of 'what is known,' from *vivid* to know, *i.e.*, the entire world. This makes the construction everywhere easy and natural. In the next stanza, '*vidathe tripi sadâvsi*' are the three seats in the world, which are themselves called the three worlds, *tripi vidathâni* at VII. 66. 10 (where *dâtibhik* corresponds to our *dhâbhik*). This is also why the gods are said to have 'three laws' corresponding to the three worlds, within the *vidatha* at II. 27. 8b. Compare also the *tripi vidathâni* at VI. 51. 2 *a*, which again are the same as the *avamâ sadâvsi* at III. 54. 5c and the *vîvâ sadâvsi* at IV. 1. 8a. (6) *cd* : A mental vision of the poet where he sees the beautiful Gandharvas serving the Asura. (7) *a* is an independent sentence with *devatâm* or *harmâ* supplied. *-b* : *sakmyam*, from *Vsac*, means 'whatever is connected with him.' Briefly, the stanza shows that the Asura evolved the names and the forms with the help of the Kavis and thus created the world. See above on v. 4. *-c* : *sasñak* with a causal sense or read *sasñne* with Geldner. The subject of *mâmis* in both halves is, of course, the Kavis. (8) Constrain *tad...asya svâvitak* as in v. 7a. *Nakir me* is elliptical ; Sâyana rightly supplies *& cchinatti*. Oldenberg reads *nâkir maih* and takes the latter as a form of *Vmi* 'to destroy' which usually occurs in such a context. He compares I. 69. 4a ; II. 38. 7d ; IV. 30. 23c, VI. 30. 2b and so on. Geldner would retain *me*, but accent it so as to make it a dat. inf. of *Vmâ* 'to measure', which he points out, is the favourite root of our poet. He compares the similar forms like *prame* at IX. 70. 4b, or *de* at V. 41. 1b, *fraddhe* at I. 102. 2d and also *prati mai* at III. 60 4c. *-c* : *Sugutri* is instru. sing. according to the Padapâthas (because there is no *iti* appended to the word).

indeed is (the work) of Savitā, when he puts forth his golden lustre : none can (take it away) from me. The divine Savitā, being praised, [susūtī], envelopes the two all-impelling worlds, as a woman covers her young ones. (9) You two (i.e., the Rodas) fulfil the work of the great and ancient (Asura). Be then near us as his divine protection. All men see the wonderful [virupā] deeds of the wise (Asura), who stands up here with his tongues as our protectors. (10) = 30/22.

39

(1) Our vigilant prayer, coming from the heart and carefully composed by the bard, goes to Indra as her lord, when sung at the sacrifice [vidathe]. Appreciate, oh Indra, whatever is done in honour of you. (2) Born even before Dyu, vigilant and sung at the

Ludwig and Oldenberg take it as the accu. dual, adj. of *rodesi* against the *Padapātha*. Some take *d* as referring to the concealment of an illegitimate child by a woman, but this is not right as is clear from the similar passage X. 18, 11cd. The point of similarity is 'tenderness' and not fear. Geldner construes *c* very differently : '(I bring here) the Rodas with good praise ; they cover all beings as a mother does her children (*usvare* is sing. because of the attraction by *yogā* in the simile)'. Lastly, Ludwig and Hirzel, (in *Gleichnisse*, p. 88) read *apsa iṣa* for *api iṣa*. 'Savitā brought forth (*apsa iṣa*) the two worlds, as a woman does her child.' This is not necessary. (9) *a* : The Rodas fulfil the work of the Asura ; cf. IV. 86. 7ab. —*Gopājihva* in *c* is surely Agni, who probably is the Asura, as said above. A variety of readings and interpretations are proposed in these two lines : Almost all scholars separate *gopā* and *ihuvaya*. For the latter word, Roth reads *ihuvasya* ; Oldenberg agrees and explains that this word is equivalent to *īgataḥ*, by the side of *tastikusak*. Thus *c* would mean 'Possessed of different forms, you two are the protectors of the moving and stationary world'. Caland-Henry read *yahvasya* for the same word (cf. Oldenberg, *Noten*, I, p. 249 f. n.), which then refers to the Asura. Geldner retains the word *ihuvasya*, but takes it to mean 'active', adj. of Asura. Acc. to him *bc* mean :—'Be with us as the divine protection, and as the protectors with different forms (*virupā gopā*—mēn. mascu. dual—in apposition to *yusam*) of the firm and active Asura'. The trans. given above and sanctioned by Oldenberg, however, is quite good.

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(1) The *mati* is conceived as the priest's daughter going to her husband, Indra. Hence all the adjectives are double-meaning. Thus, *hyā* is *vacyamāṇā* : (1) coming from the heart ; (2) body-begotten ; cf. *asrava*, *jāgrīh* : (1) vigilant ; (2) getting up early in the morning. *Vidathe* *sasyamāṇā* : (1) sung at the sacrifice ; (2) praised publicly. *Stematesṭā* : (1) skilfully composed by the bard ; (2) skilfully trained by him. (2) The same idea is further developed. Thus *ac* are also double-meaning. *a* means (1) born before Dyaus, hence *sanajā* ; (2) getting up before sunrise. *c* means : (1) dressed in bright glory ; (2) dressed in bright (yellow?) clothes. —*Sanajī* and *pitrī* show that she is not new to Indra ;

sacrifice, dressed in auspicious white, this hymn of ours (which goes to you) is ancient and hereditary. (3) The mother of the twins gave birth to these twin sisters, when she (*i.e.*, the mother) came and settled upon the restless tip of the (singer's) tongue. These two, born as twins and destroyers of darkness, assume wondrous forms when they arrive at the beginning of the day [*tapuṣo budhne etā*]. (4) There is no one among the mortals who talks ill about our ancestors (the *Aṅgirasas*), who fought for the cows. Great Indra was their supporter; working wonders, he emptied the cow-stalls for them. (5) When the friend, *i.e.*, Indra followed the cows (in *Vala's* cave) on bent knees along with his warrior friends the *Navagyas*, he did actually find with the help of the ten *Daśagvas*, the Sun dwelling in the midst of darkness. (6) When the cow yielded to Indra

he already knows her worth. (3) *Yamā*: Oldenberg is quite right in assuming that these are *ṛk* and *sōma* and that their mother is the *vāk*. *Vāpyaśi* are the various forms of the prayer-hymns and the *Sāmans*. The poet has glorified his hymns in v. 2; he continues in the same strain and praises the *Sāman* also in v. 3. *Sāyana* and *Geldner* take the twins to be *Aśvinā* and so do *Grassmann* and *Ludwig*. *Geldner* accounts for their introduction by saying that the description of the morning in the last two hymns is continued here and they come in as the gods worshipped at that time. But can we say that the first two stanzas primarily describe the morning time? They describe the prayer chiefly and Oldenberg is surely right. -*b* : *pata* is taken as the subject of *a astikāt* by *Geldner*: 'The flying (thought) has come and settled upon the tongue'; but *hi* shows that the *yamāśi* of *a* is intended to be the subject of *a astikāt*. Since *vāk* comes and settles upon the restless tongue of the singer, she produces the twin sisters, *i.e.*, the *ṛk* and the *sōma*; not otherwise. -*Tapuṣo budhne etā* is the same as *dīvāk pūrvā jāyemāṇā* in 2a. For *tapuṣo budhne* compare *rtaśya budhne* at III. 61. 7a. (4) *Eṣām* in *a* as well as *c*, refers to the *Aṅgirasas*. -*Dyūkhitā* either goes with Indra or with *gotrāṇi* in view of II. 15. 8; 17. 1 &c. In the latter case, *eṣām* would mean 'for their sake'. -*Gotrāṇi ut sasjye* means either 'drove out the herds of the cows,' or 'emptied the cowstalls.' For the latter, cf. *govāṁ gotram ad asjyak* in II. 23. 18. *Gotra* means 'a herd of the cows' at VIII. 63. 5; X. 48. 2 &c. (5) *Abhijñā*, from *abhi* and *jñāna*, means 'on bent knees,' because the entrance of *Vala's* cave was very low. Even the *Aṅgirasas* are said to be *mitajñā* before they conquered the cows, at VI. 32. 3b. -*Satvan* from *Vas*, is a warrior. -*Navagyas* and *Daśagvas* are the *Aṅgirasas*; *dala* is merely descriptive adjective of the *Daśagvas*. (6) *a*: cf. 30. 14c above. -*Neme gok*: *i.e.*, when the cow yielded to or bent towards Indra. When the cow was discovered by Indra, he at the same time discovered in her, strong-footed and strong-hoofed, *i.e.*, a walking and a strong-bottomed store of sweetness. -*cd*: *apsu gūḍhāḥ*, if taken literally, cannot refer to the *medhu* in *a*. But in view of X. 72. 7cd, it may be *sūryam* supplied from v. 5d. If however, *apsu* is taken metaphorically, *cd* may refer to all the things, that were hidden in *Vala's* cave (cf. III. 31. 15d), but the luminaries in particular. In *ab*, the poet speaks admiringly of *one* of the discovered things, *i.e.*, the cow, but in *cd* he speaks of *all*

[name goh], he as a matter of fact secured in her, the sweetness collected in the cow, in a walking and stronghoofed form. The liberal god has held in his right hand what was so far hidden, secret and concealed in waters. (7) The discriminating (Indra) picked up the light (of the Sun, Uṣas and Agni) from the darkness (in Vala's cave). May we be away from danger in a battle. Accept these hymns of the most famous [purutama] bard, oh Indra, drinker of soma and strengthened by it. (8) May the light pervade the two worlds for the sake of sacrifice. May we be far away from grave danger. You indeed profusely [bhūri] help a mortal who presses forward [tujatah] with force [barhṛāvat], oh gods. (9) = 30/22.

40

(1) We invite you, the Bull, when the soma is pressed, oh Indra. Drink you the sweet drink. (2) Approach lovingly the pressed soma which brings you vigour, oh Indra, praised by many! Drink, pour down the refreshing (juice into your belly). (3) Promote our well-established sacrifice, (coming) with all the gods, oh Indra, admired lord of men! (4) These somas which are pressed and which are the

such other things, i.e., the luminaries in particular; cf. the next stanza (*jyotiḥ vṛṣṭi &c.*). —*Dakṣipāvā*: The Padapāṭha solves this word both here and at VI. 29. 3, as *dakṣīṇa* + *vāv*, thus trying to distinguish it from another *dakṣipāvāt* occurring at III. 33. 6; I. 125. 6; X. 107. 2, 5 &c., which is solved as *dakṣīṇā* + *vat*. The object of the Padapāṭha is not very clear. It perhaps means that in the two passages, a pun on the word *dakṣīṇa* is intended. 'He holds it in his right hand, because he does indeed possess a *dakṣīṇa*, i.e., liberal hand'. The other gods do not possess a *dakṣīṇa* (liberal) hand though they possess a *dakṣīṇa* (right) hand. (7) *a* continues the idea in the last stanza. —*Abhīke*: see note on 30. 11 above. *Abhīke* and similar words are derived from the preposition and the root *Vāv* 'to go.' (8) *a*: Even this *jyotiḥ* is the same as that in v. 7a, i.e., all the luminaries recovered from Vala's cave. —*cd*: I construe: *he vasavah*, *barhṛāvat tujato martyasya yūyam bhūri cid hi supārōnak*. See on 34. 5 above. —*Vasavah* are all the gods introduced here at the end of the hymn. But very probably they are the Āṅgirases mentioned in vv. 4, 5 and 7; cf. V. 41. 9b (*rasavaśrāk*).

40

(2) *VHary* 'to rejoice in, to approach and accept lovingly &c.' (3) *Dhitōvānam*: is the accu. sing. of *dhitavan*, from *dhitā* and *vat*. It means the same as *viveatabhāṣibhyat* in 35. 2 above, i.e., a Yajña in which every thing is *hita* or *sudhita*. Thus the *prayāvīsi* are *sudhita*: I. 135. 4; VI. 15. 15; VIII. 60. 4; *Chetāci* is *sudhita*: I. 167. 3; *Adhvera* is *sudhita*: IV. 2. 10; *Havīmī* are *sudhita*: X. 70. 8. Sāyana differs. He takes *vāvā* as the second member of the compound. '*Dhitem nihitam vāvām havīt yasya tam*'. The word again occurs at III. 27. 2. (4) *Tava Kṣayam*: i.e., 'the house of soma in your body' namely Indra's *jathara* or *kukṣi*. See *okye*

delightful drops, go forward to you, their own dwelling place. (5) Put into your belly the most excellent soma that is pressed. These celestial drops are yours. (6) Drink our juice, oh lover of the hymns. You are anointed with the stream of the sweet drink. Glory indeed is a gift of yours. (7) The inexhaustible treasures of the worshipper (or the warrior, or the wooden vessel) go to Indra. Having drunk soma, he grew strong. (8) Come to us from far and near, oh killer of Vytra. Accept these hymns of ours. (9) And if you are invited at any place between the far and the near, come here from it.

41

(1) Being invited to drink soma, do come to me with your bay horses, oh Indra, wielder of the bolt. (2) Our punctual priest has sat down, the grass seat is continually spread out and the press-stones are properly joined together, in the morning. (3) These hymns are composed for you, oh Indra, borne on prayers. Be seated on the grass and enjoy the cake, oh brave god. (4) Be delighted with these our libations, hymns and chants, oh Indra, lover of the hymns and slayer of Vytra. (5) Our hymns lick the mighty Indra, the drinker of soma and the lord of strength, as the mother-cows lick their calves. (6) Be delighted with the drink in your own person, for great liberality. Do not expose your singer to reproach. (7) Longing for you and bringing you oblations, we praise you, oh Indra. And you, oh god, are fond of us. (8) Do not unyoke (your horses) away from us, oh self-reliant Indra, fond of the bay horses. Come here and be delighted. (9) May your horses with long manes and soft backs, bring you hereward in an easy car, to sit upon the grass-seat.

at 42. 8 below is to be similarly interpreted. Indra's Kukśis are called *somadhanāḥ* at 36. 8 above. (6) *c* : *Tvāddātam* is the same as *tvāddattam* in II. 33. 2 and VIII. 92. 18. (7) *Vasīn* is a 'sacrificer' according to Sāyaṇa; 'a wooden vessel containing soma' according to Geldner; and 'a conqueror or a fighter' according to Oldenberg, who compares VIII. 3. Sc. *Vasīnah* in his opinion, is nom. pl. and the meaning is: 'To never-dying glories do the conquerors accompany Indra'. (9) Cf. on 35. 5 above.

41

(1) *Madryak* : cf. *asmadryak*, *vिवाद्र्यक*, *devadryak* and *tvādrik*. All these words are to be derived from three word-elements according to Grasman, WB. p. 159. The first is the noun or the pronoun, the second is a form of the verb *Vdṛ* and the third, a form of the verb *Vac*. (2) *a* : cf. II. 36. 6. (6) The root *Vmend* governs the genitive of the thing in addition to the instru. and loc. Cf. I. 80. 6c ; 82. 5d ; II. 36. 3c ; 37. 1a &c.

42

(1) Longing for us [asmayuh], come with your horses to our soma, which is pressed and mixed with milk, and which belongs to you. (2) Come to the intoxicating drink, pressed with stones and placed on the grass. Will you please satisfy yourself with it? (3) My hymns, sent thus from here, have gone to Indra to bring him to drink soma. (4) We call here Indra, to drink soma, with our hymns and chants. Will he not come? (5) These soma juices are pressed, oh Indra. Put them into your belly, oh Satakratu, rich in plunder! (6) We know you to be a bold winner of treasures in battles, oh sage. We therefore ask for your favour. (7) Come and drink this soma of ours, pressed out by the powerful (stones), and mixed with milk and barley. (8) I send this soma to you,—to its own abode—; may it rest happily in your heart. (9) We, the Kuśikas, seeking your favour, call upon you, the ancient one, for drinking the pressed soma, oh Indra.

43

(1) Seated upon the chariot-seat, come hereward. The soma drink is indeed yours, from old days. Unyoke your dear companions (the horses); these oblation-carriers (*i.e.*, the priests or the fires) invite you to the grass-seat. (2) Come to us with your horses, passing by many people (on your way) and disregarding the requests of our rival. These hymns, loving your friendship and composed by our bards, call upon you, oh Indra. (3) Come quickly to our sacrifice glorified by prayers, along with your horses, oh god Indra. For, bringing offerings of ghee, I invite you with hymns to the feast of the sweet juices. (4) And let these well-trained, beautiful, strong and friendly horses bring you here. May friendly Indra, accepting the libation with fried grains, listen to the prayers of his friend. (5) Will you not make me the protector of men, or a king, or (at least) a sage, drinking soma? Will you not send me ever-lasting

42

(1) *Asmayuh* may also be connected with either *rathah* understood (cf. V. 74. 8) or with *somah* supplied from *a* (cf. IX. 2. 5; 6. 1; 14. 8 &c.). (8) See *okye*: cf. note on 40. 4 above.

43

(2) The repetition of *ā* at the end of the first line suggests the repetition of *yāhi* after it. *Ati* governs both *caryasih* and *āśisah*; cf. VIII. 68. 2. If *ari* is taken in the sense of 'a rich noble' *arya āśisah* may be construed with *spa*; 'come to the prayers of the rich nobles'. For *arya āśisah ati*, cf. VII. 68. 2c. (3) *Vṛydh* at the end of a compound has a transitive or an intransitive meaning. Thus *nāmavṛydh* means either 'growing by means of

riches, oh impetuous Indra ? (6) May the mighty horses, your companions,—those well-groomed simple-minded [mūrīḥ] creatures of the Bull, who (by his favour) press even against the ends of the heaven,—, being yoked, bring you hereward. (7) Indra ! drink the mighty (soma), pressed out by the mighty (stones), which the falcon brought to you when you longed for it, and in whose wild joy you make the people tremble (with fear) and break open the cow-stalls. (8) = 30/22.

44

(1) May this soma, pressed out by the yellow (stones), be dear to you. Accepting it, come to us with your horses, oh Indra. Mount upon your golden chariot. (2) Lovingly you brightened up the Dawn, and lovingly also the Sun. Wise and experienced, you transcend all glories, oh Haryāśva. (3) Indra supports the heaven, which fosters the yellow (soma by rain) and the earth which is covered with it. He grows abundant food between the two yellow worlds, where the yellow (Sun) moves. (4) Being born, i.e., having risen, the yellow Bull (the Sun) brightens up the entire firmament. Haryāśva places his yellow weapon, the bright bolt, in his arms. (5) Indra discovered the loving, bright (Soma), surrounded by lustre, (acting like) the Bolt, and pressed out by the yellow stones. He drove out the cows with his horses.

prayer' or 'that which furthers the prayer'. (6) *Diva ātāk* are the doors of the heaven, or its farthest boundaries. At IX. 5. 5, we get the masc. form of the word *āta*, in the sense of the panels of a door. —*Mūrīḥ*, from *Vīmuk* means 'simple-minded'. It is an adj. of *haryāśvah*; it may also be taken as an adj. of *ātāk*, in the sense of 'closed'. *Skyana* derives it from *Vīm* (*sātrūpām mārakām*), Roth and Geldner from *Vīmī* 'to push forth'. The former takes the word as an adj. of the horses, the latter, of the doors. (7) A *Syena* or *Suparna* brought the Soma to Indra from the heaven; cf. I. 80. 2; 93. 6; IV. 18. 13; 26. 6; 27. 4; VI. 20. 6. Also see Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 111.

44

There is a constant play on the words *Vīary*, *hari* and *harita* in the hymn. (2) *Arcayēś* from *Vīarch* 'to shine'. See note on 31. 8 above. (3) *Adhārīyat* is to be understood twice. (4) *ab*: Indra conceived as the sun. *Harim vajras* is the same as *haritam āyudham*; or *haritam* may be the soma, used as a weapon. (5) The word *apāvṛṣṭ* in c and the reference to the cows in d lead us to expect the mention of the cow-stall of *Vala*. It is perhaps for this reason that some read *urojām* for *vajram* and *haryan tam* for *haryantam*. Perhaps we should supply the two missing words in c, namely, *pītvā* and *govrājam*. But *Skyana* is probably right in taking *apāvṛṣṭ* in the sense of 'discovered' as in I. 23. 14.

45

(1) Come with your delightful horses, having manes resembling the plumage of a peacock. Let no sacrificers detain you (on your way), as fowlers the bird ; pass by them, as by a dry land (or a desert). (2) Indra is the destroyer of enemies, breaker of Vala, shatterer of forts, and the impeller of waters. Indra batters down even the strong (cow-stalls) and mounts upon his chariot, shouting to his horses to urge them. (3) You increase your strength like the deep oceans and (stout) cows. The somas enter you as (joyfully) as the well-kept cows enter a pasture land and as (swiftly) as the rivulets enter a lake. (4) Bring us wealth with power to strike, as a reward to him who promises something in return [pratijānate], oh Indra. Shower on us helpful wealth, as a man with a long hooked stick shakes off ripe fruit from a tree. (5) You are a good guide, self-reliant, self-shining, and very self-famed. Growing great with power, oh oft-invited Indra, be most famous for us.

46

(1) Great indeed are the powerful deeds of you, oh Indra, who

45

(2) *Abhisare* : from *abhi* + *Vasy* ; the word means 'shouts uttered to urge a horse' ; cf. VIII. 13, 27 ; X. 117, 8. Oldenberg proposes *abhisvarak* for *abhisare* of the *Pādapātha*, in view of the other nominatives. *Dṛghā* : The word usually occurs in this form without a substantive. It means strong forts or cowstalls in general. (3) *ab* : The two similes show the depth and stoutness of the *kṛatu*. In *cd*, supply *somāk* as the subj. of *āśata* ; cf. III. 36, 8c ; 46, 4c ; X. 43, 7b. Geldner supplies *kṛataḥ* and takes *āśata* as the pl. by attraction of the simile. (4) *Anīśa* is the reward claimed for services in return. Here and at I. 102, 4, it refers to the reward expected by the worshipper from the deity ; while at II. 19, 5 and VII. 32, 12, it is just the opposite. —c : There appears to be a confusion of two constructions here. The poet started with *vṛkṣam paksyā phalāya*, and ended with *vṛkṣat pakvam phalem*. Such anacoluthic constructions are common in RV. A similar confusion seems to have taken place at IX. 97, 53. But it is also possible to understand *Vṛkṣā* with two objects as in V. 57, 3a. (5) *Smaddisfik* : means either a good guide or a liberal donor in our passage. But the word usually occurs in the Dānastutis to qualify the presents received by the priests ; cf. VI. 63, 9 ; VII. 18, 23 ; X. 62, 10. In such a context, it means 'well trained, well given or well directed.' Oldenberg proposes *svadisfik* for *smaddisfik*. *Sufravastanah* 'most famous' by performing mighty deeds for us, or possessing abundant fame to give it to us'. Cf. VIII. 45, 8c. The adj. is used of both the deity and the worshipper. Cf. I. 91, 17, 21 ; 131, 7 ; VIII. 13, 2 for the former, and I. 49, 2 ; 53, 10 for the latter. According to Geldner, it means 'the best listener'. Perhaps this meaning was punningly intended only at I. 131, 7, but not in other passages. The noun *sufravasyā* (I. 178, 4) also shows the same.

46

(1) *Gṛhṇi*, from *Vṛghy*. (2) *Makīsa* from *Vmah* 'to be great'.

are a fighting Bull, self-shining, fierce, young yet very strong [sthāvira], vehement [ghṛṣṇi], never wearing out, and the great and famous wielder of the bolt. (2) Owing to your powers, oh buffallo, you are a great winner of wealth after overthrowing others. You are the sole ruler of the entire universe. Help (our) men to fight and to be settled. (3) Brilliant Indra, everywhere unopposed, surpasses all gods by means of his dimensions. The impetuous god excels Heaven and Earth and also the great and vast mid-air in greatness. (4) Pressed out soma juices enter Indra from ancient days, as rivers enter the ocean—Indra, who is naturally very fierce and who is a deep, broad and all-capacious well for the hymns. (5) In order that you may drink it, the adhvaryus send you that soma—that indeed they prepare for you—which Heaven and Earth bring up as a mother her child, to be of service to you [tvāyā].

47

(1) Being a Bull, drink soma at will with the Maruts, oh Indra, for wild joy and delight. Pour down into your belly the stream of the sweet juice ; (for), from ancient days, you are the lord of pressed out juices. (2) Drink soma together with your host, the Maruts, being wise and the slayer of Vṛtra, oh brave Indra. Kill our enemies, drive away the obstructors and grant us protection from every quarter. (3) And drink our soma which is pressed out, along with the R̄tus and your divine friends the Maruts, whom you gave a share (of soma) and who increased your strength and helped you in killing Vṛtra, oh Indra, drinker of soma at proper seasons ! (4) Drink soma with your followers, the Maruts, who increased your strength in the slaughter of Ahi, in the war with Sambara, in the quest after cows, and who as singers always rejoice in you, oh lord of the bay horses. (5) We invite here for a fresh favour, Indra, who is a powerful Bull surrounded by the Maruts, a liberal giver, a celestial ruler, a fierce conqueror of all and a giver of strength.

(3) *pra + vṛtī* governs the instr. or the abl. (4) *ab* : Indra conceived as a well and the hymns as rivulets falling into it. (5) *Tvāyā* : The affix *yā* when applied to nouns has the sense of 'desire for'. Like the suffix *yu*, it seems to have been developed out of the denominative.

47

(1) *Asvagandham*, *svadhām ann*, *svadhyā*, and *svadhābhik* all mean 'at will' 'according to inclination'. *Svadhd*, from *sua* and *Vdhā*, means 'will' or 'inclination'. (3) Cf. III. 51. 8. *R̄tus* are the presiding deities of the seasons ; cf. I. 15. 1 ; II. 37. 1-8. It is however, possible to understand *r̄ta* in the sense of mere 'season', and *r̄tand* or *r̄tubhik* in that of 'at proper time' ; cf. also *r̄tatha*. (5) *akṣva + ari* means 'a liberal gives.'

48

(1) The youthful Bull, soon after he was born, liked (men) to offer him the pressed out juice. Whenever you desire [pratikāmam], drink first the good juice of soma, mixed with milk [rasāśirah], as much as you like [yathā te], oh Indra. (2) On the very day on which you were born, you drank the mountain-bred nectar of the (soma) stalk, eagerly longing for it. Your mother—the woman who brought you forth—poured it out profusely [pari] for you at the house of your great father, in those early days [agre]. (3) Having approached his mother, he (i.e., Indra) demanded food and looked upon the strong soma as his udder. The wise god moved about, driving away others from it; showing himself in many places, he performed great (deeds). (4) Being the fierce overthower of mighty foes and possessed of all-subduing power, this god assumes any form he likes. Soon after his birth [januṣā], Indra overpowered (his father) Tvaṣṭṛ and drank the soma kept in jars, having snatched it off from him [āmuṣya]. (5) = 30/22.

49

(1) Let me praise great Indra, in whom all people who drink soma, have fixed their desire and whom the two worlds and the gods created to be the powerful and skilful slayer of Vṛtra. (2) The wide-stepping, self-shining and most manly god, mounted upon (the chariot drawn by) his horses, whom none can overthrow in battles, but who the most powerful one, (overthrows others) with the help of his strong warriors (the Maruts), has destroyed the life of Dasyu. (3) He is a victor in battles like a powerful horse. The liberal god pervades the two worlds. Like Bhaga, he too deserves to be invoked by our prayers in a battle. He is easy to call upon like a kind father,

48

(1) *Prabhaktam* is the inf. of *pra vbhī* 'to offer'. Or it may be taken as a noun meaning 'an offering' and corresponding to *prabhīti*. Cf. I. 79. 7; II. 24. 1; III. 36. 1; VIII. 82. 1. Sāyana takes it as a noun in the sense of 'the worshipper'. (2) *Mahās pitā* is Tvaṣṭṛ; cf. v. 4. (3) *Purudhāpratikak*; cf. on 34. 3. (4) *b* : Cf. VII. 101. 3b. —*c* : Cf. also IV. 18. 12d.

49

(1) *Aryon* from *v̄si* 'to go to direct, or to enjoy'. *Kāmam ayan* may also mean 'in whom they realised their desires'. —*Vibhūtaśām* means 'fashioned by the skilful'; hence 'skilful'. (2) In *c*, supply *tarati* from *b*. *d* is the principal sentence and an explanation of *c*. The word *dyuk* in several passages of the Rv. has to be read as *dyu* for metre; cf. Arnold, Vedic Metre, sec. 178. (3) *Bhaga*, the presiding deity of luck and fortune is invoked in battles; cf. III. 20. 4a. Construe *havye* and *maśinām* toge-

To solve this difficulty twelve of the women I met in my inquiry advocated compulsory physical training for girls in schools as well as in colleges. Arrangements must be made, they said, by the educated institutes in their vicinity to impart this sort of training ; and each girl must be compelled to take it. Others were indifferent, or had not thought about the matter.

Having finished with discussions on the above questions, it is interesting to note down the views of women on some of the educational questions of the day.

Twelve women mostly students said that they were satisfied with the present system of education for women while 11 women felt a necessity for some change in the present curriculum. They said that the secondary and higher education given to boys as well as to girls does not meet the needs of life. Much of their energy is wasted, for 11 years are needed for them to finish their secondary course. Then they have to decide upon their career in life and take further education to specialise in the same. In India the average duration of life is much less than in Europe. Hence so many years spent in education or preparation for life's career, is so much loss of productive energy to the country. The change is necessary, they said, but confessed their inability to chalk out the line.

Three women said that there should be different courses of studies for boys and girls. The latter should be on the lines of Prof. Karve's University for Indian Women. But as women have to compete with men in all fields of labour, they must be given equal opportunities and training with men.

Twenty women observed that girls should be taught domestic science in schools. This indicated, though not stated in so many words, that the only career in life for women is the home and its cares.

About co-education, I had a talk with an aged woman and her husband. Both of them were wholly against co-education. They said that co-education had bad effects on the morals and hygiene of the girls. They advocated a separate college for women where women may pursue the same studies as men. I could not quite clearly see their reasons : but I think they were impressed by the moral dangers, as they thought, of educating adolescent men and women in the same institution. In relation to the same question a woman who had taken her degree in the Madras University told me that there are two separate colleges for women in Madras. On account of this facility women's education is much advanced over there. It is, however, possible to afford this facility only in provincial towns.

es where sufficient women are already so highly educated as to be able to supply the staff needed for such a separate women's college. For such an institution could not meet its basic purpose if the teaching staff is made up wholly or largely of men. On the other hand, provinces where women's education is already advanced to that degree which will easily furnish the staff necessary for a women's college from the ranks of educated women, the need is not quite so great for such a separate college as it might be in those other provinces where customs like the Purda continue to hamper the education of women, and where the same customs demand separate institutions, if higher education among women is to make any progress at all.

On the other hand seventy women-students have remarked that they were certainly in favour of co-education. They did not agree that its effects were disastrous on morals. They rather thought that the manners of men-students showed a great improvement by the mere presence in the same class-room of women-students. Upon the merits and demerits of the question, it would be out of place for the present writer to give an opinion.

Twenty-three out of thirty-seven medical students told me that they were in urgent need of a ladies' hostel in the vicinity of the Medical College. To say the same thing in the very words of a student "I think there is very great necessity, indeed, of having a hostel for women-students on the premises. Men-students with whom we compete, are at a much greater advantage living so near—they are able to attend casualty duty, and also emergent operations at night—we miss all this. Besides they do not waste time and energy in travelling."

Four nurses observed to me that women's education should be facilitated by special measures, like exclusive scholarships for girls. They felt for their lot because they were not sufficiently educated. I have collected all these opinions of the women I visited only to show that the new woman in India is not quite a passive being. She is fully alive to the problems of the hour; and is not afraid to speak about them. You may or may not accept her views. But if you talk to her even for an hour you cannot help realising that in all she does she is deadly earnest and perfectly sincere.

Taking a survey of the results of my inquiry, certain definite facts revealed themselves. During the last 30 years or so the spread of education among Indian women on western lines has made considerable strides. Though the present proportion of educated to uneducated women is 1 to 300 in a city like Bom-

the hymns. (11) Present yourself before this pressed soma, which is according to your liking. May it gladden you who are fond of it. (12) May it spread out within your sides and together with our hymn, occupy your head and arms to inspire you to liberality, oh brave god.

52

(1) Accept in the morning our (soma) with fried grain and gruel, a cake and a hymn. (2) Accept this well baked cake, oh Indra and express your satisfaction [gurasva] ; the offerings (of soma) flow forth to you. (3) Eat out cake and accept our hymns, as (joyfully) as a bridegroom accepts his bride. (4) Accept our cake at the morning libation, oh Indra famous from old days ; great indeed is your power. (4) Accept with joy [cāru kṛṣva] the fried grain of our midday libation and also the cake, oh Indra, when your praising singer, who reaches his goal (by your favour), implores you passionately like a bull, with his hymn. (6) Exhalt (by acceptance) our friend grain and the cake offered at the third libation, oh oft-invited Indra. Let us strengthen you with our hymns and offerings when you come with Rbha and Vāja, oh wise god. (7) We have offered gruel and fried grain to you, oh Haryasva, when you came with Pūṣan and your horses. Eat this cake with your followers, the Maruts, and being the wise killer of Vṛtra, drink soma, oh brave god. (8) Offer quickly the fried grain and the cake to him who is the bravest among manly warriors. May these (fried grains) of the same high quality every day strengthen you for the draught of soma, oh bold god.

53

(1) Oh Indra and Parvata, bring us rich food with offspring in your mighty chariot. Enjoy our offerings at sacrifices, oh gods, and

RV. (9) *Dātisārāḥ* from *dāti* and *sāra*, 'whose gifts are covetable'. (10) Supply *peyam* after *idam*. (11) *yak* refers to soma.

53

The hymn consists of several disconnected pieces put together. In the opinion of Geldner, it is the proper family-hymn of the Viśvāmitras (Oldenberg does not agree), consisting of a number of reminiscences from their family-legends, loosely connected with each other but all intended to glorify the originator of the family. Like the similar hymns of the Bharadvājas (VL 47) and the Vasisthas (VII. 33), it comes at the end of the Indra hymns. As a matter of fact, Indra plays only a secondary rôle in these hymns, namely that of a constant helper of the respective families. Our hymn may be divided as follows :—Part I (vv. 1-6) refers to Indra's constant and affectionate contact with the Viśvāmitras, in whose company he feels as happy as in that of his blessed wife at home. Part II (vv. 7-14) describes the greatness of the Viśvāmitras, who were at one time highly honoured by King Sudas and his followers, the Bharatas, with a special

grow powerful by our hymns, rejoicing in our oblations. (2) Stand still, oh Maghavan ; do not go back. Let me offer you the well pressed soma. With a sweet song do I cling to the skirt of your garment, as a son to his father's, oh mighty Indra. (3) Let us sing, Adhvaryu ; sing in reply to me. Let us prepare for Indra, a vehicle, i.e., a hymn, which he likes most. Come and occupy this grass-seat of the sacrificer and then shall a hymn be sung to Indra. (4) A wife indeed is the home and resting place. May your horses, being yoked, take you to it. (And) whenever we press our soma, our messenger Agni will run to (invite) you. (5) Go home, Maghavan, and come back again, oh brother Indra ; at both places you have your goal, where your great chariot can be easily garaged and the (eagerly) neighing horse unyoked. (6) You have drunk soma ; now go home, oh Indra. Your blessed wife and the household pleasures are awaiting you at your house, where your great chariot may be garaged and the horse unyoked fruitfully. (7) These rich patrons are indeed Virūpa Angirassas, the manly sons of the mighty Dyu, themselves. They have prolonged their life by giving rich gifts to Viśvāmitra at the Horse-sacrifice [sahasrasāve]. (8) The liberal god assumes dif.

reference to the miracle of the river-crossing and the grand Aśvamedha sacrifice of the king. Part III (vv. 15-16) is a small chapter alluding to the downfall of the Viśvāmitras at the court of Sudās and their subsequent rise with the help of the Sāsarpāti brought to them by their friends, the Jamadagnis. Part IV (vv. 17-20) contains the consecration of their chariot on its homeward journey, when it is fully laden with rich gifts from Sudās at the conclusion of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. Part V (vv. 21-24) contains strongly worded imprecations against an enemy, who according to Indian tradition is the Vasishthas under the leadership of Vasishtha's son Sakti. It also denounces the Bharatas for disrespecting the Viśvāmitras and honouring their rivals in a most unappreciative manner.

(1) *Susīrāk īṣṭa* : cf. I. 12. 11 ; VII. 24. 6. (3) *Vākṣa* is the vehicle in the form of a hymn ; cf. on 30. 20 above. (5) *Artham* is the 'goal'. In Rv. *artha* is generally neuter ; only in one or two places it is masculine. -d : *Vājīna rāsabhaṣya* : The latter word is probably the adj. At I. 34. 9d, however, the former appears to be so, as the *Rāsabha* is a peculiarity of the Aśvinī. The poet's great concern for Indra's going back to his house looks very suspicious ! It is possibly the outcome of his desire to prevent Indra from going to any other sacrificers. (7) *Bhojāḥ* are the king Sudās and his followers, the Bharatas. They are here identified with the Angirassas themselves, who are represented as ideal patrons at X. 62. 7. *Virūpāt* is double-meaning. Virūpes are a branch of the Angiras family and as an adj. of *bhōjāḥ*, the word means 'under different forms, i.e. in disguise'. -b : cf. 31. 1-3 above. -cd : The two lines are almost reproduced in a mocking and satirical manner by the Vasishthas in VII. 103. 10, according to some scholars. *Sahasrasāva* is the Horse sacrifice where the soma is pressed a thousand times. (8) ab : Indra's powers of self-transformation ; see on 34. 3 above. In cd, these powers are ascribed to (cf. *yat*) his drinking soma

ferent forms, creating magic illusions around his body, when thrice a day, he comes (to the sacrifice) in a moment, drinking out of season according to his pleasure and yet obeying the Rta. (9) The great sage (Viśvāmitra), the observer of men, born from the gods and inspired by them, stopped the flowing river ; (for), when Viśvāmitra guided Sudās (through the river), Indra was mightily pleased with the Kuśikas. (10) With your pressing stones, you produce a song of praise like the swans, (oh Kuśikas), rejoicing in your hymns together at the sacrifice, when the juice is pressed out. Drink the sweet juice of soma with the gods, oh Kuśikas, observers of men, sages and priests ! (11) Go near and be attentive, oh Kuśikas ; let loose the horse of King Sudās for glory. Let the king kill his enemies in the East, in the West and in the North, and then offer a sacrifice at the best place of the earth, (*i.e.*, the Vedi). (12) The hymn of me—Viśvāmitra—who have propitiated the two worlds and Indra, protects these Bhārata people. (13) Viśvāmitras have sung a hymn to Indra, the wielder of the bolt. May he make us rich ! (14) What service do the cows render to you in the Kikāṭa country ? (The people there) do not draw their milk for preparing soma [āśiram], nor do they heat the cauldron (with the milk in it). Bring us the wealth of Pramaganda and subdue to us Naicāśākha, oh Maghavan. (15)

in and out of season according to his pleasure, at the house of the Viśvāmitras. -*Triy yaddivak* is the same *trir ā divak* at I. 142. 3 ; III. 54. 11 ; 56. 5-8, and means 'thrice a day.' -*Pari mukhātman* is the same as *upa mukhātman* at III. 33. 5 and means 'in a moment'. -*Svākī mantrāḥ* : *i.e.*, 'according to his own sweet will'. *Mantra* is used in the sense of 'inclination' or 'will' at X. 95. 1. -*Svākī mantrāḥ* corresponds to *anu svām dhāma* at III. 7. 6 or *svākī dākṣeṣī* at I. 68. 4. (9) vv. 9-11 describe Sudās's horse-sacrifice. In the description, the poet completely loses himself in his mental vision, and addresses his ancestors as though they were present before him. In v. 12, he reaches the climax and identifies himself with the original Viśvāmitra. -*Devajāt* is a term of respect meaning 'born from the gods' ; cf. I. 164. 15 ; IX. 97. 29. -*Sūdhanā* : The reference is to the incidents detailed in III. 33. -Kuśika appears to be the earlier name of the Viśvāmitra family, as Tṛtsu was of the Vasiṣṭhas. These older names were naturally supplanted on the advent of the two great men, namely Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. (10) The Kuśikas are compared with swans both for their white dress (*cf. śvityaśca* at VII. 33. 1) and for the deep rumbling noise produced by their press-stones in action. (11) The preliminaries of the horse sacrifice *i.e.* the letting loose of the horse and the conquest of the world. It was perhaps on this occasion that Viśvāmitra performed the miracle of stopping the river. (12) *Yek* in *a* may perhaps refer to Indra ; we might then supply some verb like *vi śvāsi* there. Cf. III. 30. 6 ; 49. 3b ; VI. 46. 5 ; VIII. 6. 17 ; IX. 110. 9. (14) Kikāṭa, Pramaganda and Naicāśākha are generally considered as proper names : see Vedic Index ; but they may even be the common names of the Non-Aryan settlements, miserly Pāṇis and the Dasyus of low origin resp., as the old Indian authorities maintain. (15-16).

The Sasarparī, given by the Jamadagnis, bellowed loudly in a triumphant manner, driving away (our) poverty of thought. That daughter of the Sun spread (our) fame, ageless and undying, among the gods. (16) Sasarparī quickly brought them, (i.e., Viśvāmitras) fame in the midst of men of the five clans. Born of the bird, (i.e., the Sun), 'she, whom Palastis and Jamadagnis gave me, put new life into them. (17) May the bulls be strong and the axle firm; may not the pole come out nor the yoke be broken. May Indra keep the yokepins from decay. Be our companion, (oh chariot) with uninjured wheels. (18) Put strength in our bodies and also in our bulls. Strengthen our sons and grandsons that they may live. You are indeed the giver of strength. (19) Put on the strength of Khadira

Sasparī from *vṛṣp* 'to move' -*Br̥kṣa mīmāya* i.e. 'roared aloud, frightening the enemies i.e. the rivals into silence'. The root *vṛṣd* 'to roar, bellow' is used of a cow or a goat. But this does not mean that the Sasarparī is a cow, i.e. the Sabardughā of VI. 48. 11, as Grassmann and Geldner assume. The adj. *pakṣyā* in 16c is against such a supposition, unless we interpret it in the sense of 'belonging to my side' with Geldner or 'born of the Sun' with Säyanā. But our *pakṣyā* is very similar to *pakṣinī heiti* at X. 165 2-3, and both may be 'winged devils', the 'Yātus' (cf. VII. 104. 22 for the winged Yātus). The suggestion may look absurd but it is not quite impossible. It deserves to be carefully noted in this connection, that neither the Yātus nor the Yātudhānas are anywhere condemned in the IIIrd Maṇḍala, and if VII. 104. 13a were really referring to Viśvāmitra, we can easily understand the reason of it. The Vasiṣṭhas are the strongest in their condemnation of the Yātus and the Yātudhānas, which were generally employed by the non-Aryans. But the Viśvāmitras were rather unscrupulous and sometimes did make use of the Yātus in overpowering their rivals. Our Sasarparī was probably one of these beings. She is however exalted into 'a daughter of the greatest bird, the sun'! Being 'a winged creature' she quickly (*mīyam*) brought fame to them. It is also important to remember how Viśvāmitra repeatedly emphasises Indra's powers of magic self-transformation and specially admires Indra's employment of magic powers in overpowering the Māyās of the wily demons (cf. 34. 3ab; 6cd). Does he not thereby suggest that even the Aryans should similarly be justified in employing the services of the Yātus against the Yātudhānas? When once this much is conceded, it is easy to understand the next natural step, i.e. the employment of the Yātus against even the Aryan rival. But after all this, the question does remain as to the significance of the adjective *Jamadagnidattā*. The Jamadagnis are quite a respectable Aryan family and their possession of Yātus is very questionable. Roth and Ludwig think that the Sasarparī is 'war-trumpet'. -*Palasti* is either a proper name or an adj. meaning 'grey-haired'; cf. TS. 7. 1. 9. 1. (17-20) The consecration of the fully loaded chariot. V. 19 is addressed to the axle, on the strength of which the strength of the chariot depends. It is made of the Khadira wood, which is very hard and hence it is asked to assume the strength of its parent. -*Spandane* is an adjective of *śimśapāyām* in spite of the difference of gender. The constantly moving part made of Śimśapā is obviously the wheel. A contrast is implied between the moving wheel

(from which you were made), and lend strength to the moving Sīrīśapā. Be extremely firm, oh strong and well-built axle, and do not throw us down from the chariot. (20) May this lord of the forest, (*i.e.*, the cart) not abandon us nor injure us until we reach home, until we finish our journey and unyoke finally. (21) Strengthen us to-day, oh brave and liberal Indra with your abundant and most excellent favours. May he who hates us be downfallen, and may his vital breath abandon him whom we hate. (22) He, (*i.e.*, Viś.) beats him (*i.e.*, Vasiṣṭha), like an axe and cuts him like a Simbala tree. He (*i.e.*, Vasiṣṭha) vomits foam like a seething and

and the immovable axle which strengthens it. Sāyana differs : *Spandes rathasya gamane seti śimśapākhyadāruṇimite rathaphalakē &c.* Grassmann reads *Śimśapāyād* and connects it with *ejas*: 'the strength of Śimśapā.' Lastly Geldner takes *spandes* and *Śimśapā* as two kinds of wood. (20) *Avasai* : dat. for abl. *avasā* is a fem. noun from *ava* + *vā* 'to finish'. (21-24) These stanzas are traditionally known to be *Vasiṣṭhadvayavivikya*. Durga, the commentator of *Nirukta* (cf. on IV. 14. 2), being a Vasiṣṭha himself, does not comment on one of these. V. 21 is defensive. In v. 22b, Viśvāmitra is the subject and in *cd*, it is Vasiṣṭha. -*Cit* is expressive of a simile. If VII. 104 is regarded as a sort of reply to our hymn, we can rightly understand *adharas padisṭa* (mark the superlative) of VII. 104. 16d as against our rather mild (only comp.) *adharas padisṭa* in v. 21c, and similarly *tāpar yayasta carur agnimīnī* of VII. 104. 2b as a reply to our *ukhā cit phenam asyeti* in v. 22cd. In vv. 23-24, Viśvāmitra is trying to defend his action towards his opponent Vasiṣṭha, (mark the voc. *jāmāsā*) among his followers. Here he compares himself with a fine swift race-horse and Vasiṣṭha with an ordinary horse used for offering at an Aśvamedha sacrifice, nay, even with a donkey. His chief complaint is that Sudas and his Bharatas did not treat him as a race-horse, but merely as sacrificial horse who is made to wander about at the time of the world-conquest (cf. *māyani* in v. 23b and *pari māyani* in v. 24d) before being sacrificed and that they made him emulate with such a worthless person as Vasiṣṭha and the worst of it was that they gave him a preference. The conclusion which Viś. ironically draws from this behaviour of the Bharatas is that they like a defeat, a retreat in a battle and not a victorious advance. This is obvious, he argues, from the fact that they have chosen such a wretched man as Vasiṣṭha as their leader (v. 24). All this of course, must be regarded as the venomous outburst of the disappointed and crestfallen Viśvāmitra.

In the interpretation of these stanzas, I have generally followed Sāyana and Geldner, particularly the latter. Oldenberg is not very much inclined to believe in the great traditional rivalry between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra and consequently in the interpretation based on its assumption. He sees in vv. 22-23 a description of a destructive charm against an enemy, which however, is conducted rightly in a few parts, but wrongly in the rest. It is in his opinion, a criticism passed by Viś. against his enemy who was practising the charm to injure him. Viś. agrees that certain acts described in v. 22 were done rightly but the others mentioned in v. 23 were not so done according to him. "He indeed beats the hatchet and also cuts the Simbala tree. His cauldron indeed overboils and throws out the foam; (so far he

overboiling cauldron. (23) The arrow-like swift horse [sāyaka] was not appreciated, oh men. They let loose to wander (before the sacrifice) the red race-horse [lodha], mistaking him for a sacrificial horse. (Wise men) never compel a race-horse to run a race with an ordinary horse. They never show preference to a donkey before a horse. (24) These sons of Bharata, oh Indra, know, (*i.e.*, like) only the retreat and not the bold advance. They urge a familiar horse as though he were a stranger. They carry a race-horse having the speed of a bow-string at a race, round and round (and finally sacrifice him).



rightly proceeds), but then nothing of an arrow (which by now should have been there) is yet known, oh men! They lead forth the red goat [lodham] as though he were a victim (which again is not right). They do not even start a race between a race horse and an ordinary horse (though it is an essential part of the charm). Nor do they lead a donkey before a horse (which too is essential in the charm)." If this interpretation is correct, it is easy to understand the significance of the various acts of which the charm consists. They either signify the destruction of the enemy's property and life, or the subversion of things belonging to him. The precedence of a donkey to a horse is described as a destructive charm at Apastamba Srauta Sūtra, XVI. 2. 4. Also compare Kauśika Gṛhya Sūtra, 26. 25 : 36. 27 &c. for the use of a red-hot axe in certain charms.

SAURASENI PRAKRIT

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.

The linguistic nature of the various Prakrit dialects is a point of much confusion and uncertainty. Very often we are at a loss to know whether a particular feature is a characteristic of a particular Prakrit language or not. This confusion is aggravated by the lack of unanimity on the part of the Prakrit grammarians who more often than agree among themselves in giving the features of the different Prakrits. Again where they are found to agree, the usage of the writers is not in agreement with them. Nor is the condition of the MSS. of the Sanskrit dramas in any way satisfactory. They present to us a bewildering multiplicity of forms from which it is difficult to reconstruct the original forms and to determine the nature of the language in which the author wrote them. This uncertainty is so great that scholars differ among themselves as regards the language of the verses found in the Sanskrit dramas. Following the authority of the rules of the Sanskrit rhetoricians which lay down that Māhārāṣṭri should be the language used in the songs of the ladies, some regard them as written in that Prakrit¹, while others rely more on the forms found in the MSS. and contend that they should be regarded as written in Sauraseni². The forms found in the MSS. are so varied that scholars can choose forms which will suit their hypothesis with equal facility³. Therefore it is necessary to view the whole problem from a historical point of view and try to decide the linguistic nature of Sauraseni with the help that can be derived both from the grammarians and the existing literature found in it.

THE GRAMMATICAL AND LITERARY SOURCES.

It is usual to divide the Prakrit grammarians into two schools⁴, the eastern one represented by Vararuci, Kramadīśvara, Rāma

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1. Konow has adopted this view in editing the text of Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramanijari* in Harvard Oriental Series, No. 4.
 2. Hillebrandt. *Mudrārākṣasa*, p. III.
 3. The various readings noted by Konow are so varied that one can easily make out the text of the verses in Sauraseni. Cf. the Edition in *Kāvyaśālā* No. 4.
 4. Grierson. A. Mookerjee. *Orientalia*. Part II, p. 117ff.; Vaidya, *Prakrit Grammar of Hemacandra*. Preface p. 5,

Tarkavāgīśa and Mārkanḍeya, and the western one comprising the works of Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Laksmidhara and others. Even though the account of these schools is based on inadequate grounds¹, we do find a marked difference between the treatment of these two sets of writers. Among the writers of each school there is a good deal of similarity both in the manner and the material of their grammars, while they differ equally from the writers of the other school. For Sauraseni, Mārkanḍeya² is the best representative of the eastern school. In fact he appears to be the only writer who has dealt with this language with anything like fullness. Vararuci often agrees with him, but his treatment is very meagre, and the absence of Bhāmaha's commentary on the 12th chapter makes this portion of his Prākrita-Prakāśa³ obscure and its rules uncertain. Hemacandra is, of course, the best representative of the western school. All later writers draw on him and add nothing new and important to his information.

The oldest available dramas are those of the Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa*. They are found in a few fragments only. They are usually assigned to the first century A.D. In these dramas there are a few passages which are written in Sauraseni, and are found in the mouths of the Vidyāsaka and the courtesan. They are of great value as giving us some insight into the Prakrits at a very early stage of their development. Next, we have the dramas of Bhāsa about whose date there is much uncertainty even after so much discussion. The archaic nature of his Prakrits⁵ is often doubted and the peculiarities found therein are put down as due to the method of writing the MSS. of his works. In spite of all the prolonged discussion, it appears much more reasonable to assign Bhāsa to the third century and regard his Prakrits as representing a stage later than the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa and earlier than that of the later dramatists. The date of Mṛcchakatika⁶ is also uncertain, but the drama is of great value because of the great number of Prakrit passages in it and the variety found therein. So also the dramas of later writers like Kālidāsa, the Mudrārākṣasa⁷ of Viśākhadatta, the Karpūramafijari of Rājaśekhara are of some value in understanding the present language.

1. Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 434.
2. His Prākritasarvasva is edited in Granthapradarśani No. 3, Vizagapatam, 1927.
3. Ed. by Cowell, London, 1868.
4. Lüders, Bruchstücke Buddhistischen Dramen.
5. Printz, Bhāsa's Prakrit, Pishareti, I.H.Q., Vol. 1, 105.
6. Ed. by Godbole, B. S. S. 1896.
7. Ed. by K. H. Dhruva, Poona, 1928.

The Prakrit verses found in the *Nātyaśāstra*¹ of Bharata are also written in Sauraseni. Jacobi, however, prefers to call it the Pre-classical Prakrit.² We have in the *Nātyaśāstra* itself the statement that the verses illustrating the Dhūrvās should be written in Sauraseni³. Besides this, most of the prose passages in the dramas are in this language, both according to the theory of the science of dramaturgy and the practice of the dramatists.

There is, however, another group of Prakrit works which shows some signs of the Sauraseni language. These are the Prakrit works of the Digambara Jains. They are written mostly by the southern writers and are found from the beginning of the Christian era. Even though they cannot be said to be written in Sauraseni proper, their language shows the phonetic change of *t* to *d* to a considerable extent, and on that account is called Jain Sauraseni by Pischel and others⁴. This extensive literature affords us some help in determining the features of this Prakrit.

MODERN VERNACULARS.

The present vernaculars of India are, no doubt, the legal descendants of the middle Indian Prakrits. They are, therefore, expected to help us a little in affording some insight into the nature of their mother-languages from which they must have drawn to a considerable extent and must have preserved most of their peculiarities. But the exact nature of their relation with the various Prakrits is doubtful. Grierson has connected them, one and all, through an intermediate stage of Apabhraṃśa dialects⁵. Others with greater probability, want to dispense with this stage of the Apabhraṃśa in case of Marathi and some other vernaculars. All the same, we have no doubt that Marathi is immediately connected with Māhārāṣṭri, while Gujarati and Western Hindi are much more akin to the Sauraseni Prakrit. As pointed out by Grierson W. Hindi shows some signs which disagree with the features of Sauraseni and this is to be ex-

1. Jacobi has given a grammatical analysis of these verses in his *Bhavītakaha*, Introduction pp. *84-*89. They are also edited anew by Ghosh in I. H. Q., Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 1-52.
2. *Bhavisitakaha*, Abhandlung, Exkurs über die jüngern literarischen Prakrit-sprachen, Sect. 9, p. *86.
3. *Nātyaśāstra*, XXXIII, 408.
4. Bhāṣā tu Sūrasenīyāḥ (?) dhruvāyāḥ samprayojayet ||.
5. For the language of these works see W. Denckha. Observations on the Digambara texts in Festgabe Jacobi. Bonn, 1926; A. N. Upadhye. The Prakrit Dialect of Pravacanāśra or Jain Sauraseni. The Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. II, Part VI, May, 1934.
5. Linguistic Survey of India, Introductory.

plained by assuming that it is derived from various sources¹. By a comparison of the various forms of common words in these languages we can know, in a few cases, the tendencies that were present in the languages which gave them birth. This will be a good help in checking the conclusions of the Prakrit grammarians. But the use of such conclusions must be made with great caution. It is just possible that a phonetic tendency that was present in the Prakrit stage might have dropped itself in later times as these languages developed, and new ones might have made themselves felt. Moreover, in later times, these vernaculars have drawn from Sanskrit a good deal of their vocabulary without subjecting it to the natural changes through which their original stock of words has passed. Further, it must be noted that such a help is mostly to be found in phonetics. In questions of morphology, we have to do without it, as most of the vernaculars have developed an analytical structure, a thing unknown to the Prakrit stage.

PHONOLOGY.

Consonantal changes :—In determining the consonantal changes in Sauraseni we have first to deal with the important rule of the change of *t* to *d*, which according to the grammarians is the chief distinguishing feature of this language. (Va. 12, 3. Hem. 4, 260. Mär. 9, 20. Rt. 2, 1, 5.) This supposition of the grammarians, however, is called in question by modern scholars like Jacobi and Grierson, the former contending that this change of *t* to *d* is not a peculiarity of Sauraseni as such, but is a feature found in the Prakrit which was formerly used in place of later Māhārāṣṭri, and the latter thinking it not a dialectal feature but one due to the natural development in a language. It is necessary at first, to examine the grounds on which the supposition of the Pre-classical Prakrit of Jacobi is based. He appears to base his conclusion on a line of argument something like the following. He thinks that the rules of the Prakrit grammarians dealing with the Sauraseni Prakrit are correct and therefore whatever goes against them is not Sauraseni. He, further, thinks that the rule of the Sanskrit rhetoricians that the language of the verse both in the dramas and everywhere else is always Māhārāṣṭri is of unimpeachable validity. Naturally, as he finds that in works like the Nātyāśāstra there are verses which show some signs of the Sauraseni language as described by the grammarians, he is compelled to disregard the suggestion of thinking them to be written in that language, because it comes into conflict with the rule of the writers on poetics. Nor can it be supposed that they are in

1. Ling. Sur., Vol. VII, p. 7.

Māhārāṣṭri, as they show some features which the grammarians do not allow in that language. This has forced Dr. Jacobi to consider these verses to be written in a language which he called the Pre-classical Prakrit and the main features of which he collected from the verses in the Nātyāśāstra. But both these rules are not sufficiently proved. The grammarians, as Grierson says¹, often seem to have constructed general rules out of stray occurrences or phonetic tendencies. As regards the verses of the dramas, Hillebrandt² has conclusively proved that the verses in Mudrārākṣasa are not in Māhārāṣṭri but in Sauraseni. The same can be said of the verses in Mrccchakaṭīka and other later dramas. The early dramas of Aśvaghōṣa and Bhāsa also show no traces of Māhārāṣṭri in the verses found in those plays. For the first time, we meet with Māhārāṣṭri verses in the dramas of Kālidāsa. As we have already seen there need be no hesitation in accepting the view that the verses in the Nātyāśāstra are in Sauraseni. In the Kāṛḍramāñjari of Rājāśekhara there are many indications of Sauraseni features even in verses, a fact which is also noted by Märkandeya (3. 77).

At the earliest stage of Prakrit, as seen in the inscriptions of king Aśoka, we have no trace of this phonetic change, in any of his dialects. Therein *t* is preserved intact. But later on in the inscriptions of Khāravela³ we meet with the form *sdāni* = *stāni* (line 13), and in the Nāśika inscriptions the form *sddēvākhanā* = *śātavākhanā* (1). Besides these solitary instances, the inscriptions show no trace of this change. Everywhere else the retention of *t* is the rule. The Mayidavoṇi grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman has no form containing this change.

It is in the literary Pali that we find this change for the first time. It is found in words like *udāho* = *utāho*, *sugedo* = *sugata*, *niyyādeti* = *niryālayati*, *paṭiyādeti* = *pratiyālayati*, *pasada* = *prasīta* *ruda* = *ruta*, *vidatthi* = *vitasti* and others⁴. The contrary change of *d* to *t* is also to be met with in a few words like *kusīta* and others. In some places the intervocalic *d* is dropped. From all these instances it will be very easily seen that this change is found in Pali to a limited extent. It affects only the body of the word and not the system of morphology. S. Lévi⁵ has seen this change in a few technical terms of the Pali Vinaya like *ekodi* (explained as *eko-ūti*) and *saṅghādisesa* (explained as *saṅgha-atiseṣa*). He tries to explain

1. Ling. Sur., Vol. VII, p. 5.

2. Ed. of Mudrārākṣasa, p. 3.

3. Woolner. Introduction to Prakrit, p. 206 and the bibliography there.

4. Gelger. Pali Litteratur und Sprache, S. 38, p. 56.

5. Journal Asiatique Ser., XX, 496ff.

the presence of this change on the supposition that this feature must have been the characteristic of the original language in which the words of Buddha were composed. This is, of course, doubted by others and that also for good reasons¹.

Śaurasenī is taken to be the normal Prakrit of the Sanskrit dramas and it is but natural that we should find this change to a greater extent in the dramatic Prakrits than in others. The fragments of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa have passages which Lüders takes to be written in the older form of Śaurasenī². Here also we find nowhere the change of *t* to *d* except in the solitary case of *surada* = *surata* which may have been a mistake. In other respects the language in which the Vidyūsaka and the courtesan speak shows marked similarity with the Śaurasenī Prakrit of the later dramatists and the grammarians. From this it appears that this change is not the characteristic of this Prakrit in its earliest stage.

In the dramas of Bhāsa we meet with this change to a greater extent³. There are forms like *bhodi* = *bhavati*, *hodu* = *bhavatu*, *ganhādi* = *gnahāti*, *kādava* = *kartavya*, *kādum* = *kartum*, and others in which *t* is changed to *d*. We further note that this change has now begun to affect the formation of the nouns and verba. In forms like *gaganatalam* = *gaganatalam*, *gai* = *gati*, *duhiā* = *duhitā*, *bahumatāra* = *bahumatatara*, *sīa* = *sīta*, *vāa* = *vāta*⁴ and others *t* is dropped. It is very rarely retained. In other respects the language stands midway between the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa and the later dramas of Kālidāsa and others, preserving some old forms and showing some new ones side by side⁵.

The position of the Prakrit verses of the Nātyāśāstra is the same as that of the dramas of Bhāsa in all respects. As a rule they show the change of *t* to *d*⁶ in forms like *vēdo* = *vāta* (1), *vidārīda* = *vidārita* (11), *hada* = *hata* (6), *vīsadi* = *vīsati* (10), *vicaradi* = *vicarati* (12), *āgadam* = *āgatam* (24), *juda* = *yuta*, *jadā* = *yodā*, *kusumavadi* = *kusumavasi* (26), and a host of others. In very few cases like *sahid* = *sahitā* *t* is dropped, and in some others *t* is retained as in *bhūsita* = *bhūsita*, *gaganatalam* = *gaganatalam*, *kusumavati*, *rajata*. Particularly in the case of the third person singular forms of the verbs *t* is dropped and therefore we have forms like *vāi* = *vāti* (1), *bhemai* = *bhemati* (6), *pavisai* = *praviśati* (13), etc.

1. Geiger, op. cit., p. 4.

2. Br. budd. Dra., pp. 33-64.

3. Printz., pp. 3-7; Keith, Sanskrit Drama, pp. 120-122.

4. Printz B. P., p. 15.

5. Woolner op. cit., pp. 74-75.

6. Cp. Bhavishattakaḥa, p. 84, n. 3.

In later dramas this change is consistently followed. This will indicate that by that time the rules of the Prakrit grammarians have once for all decided that this change was to be the special feature of Sauraseni Prakrit and was followed by the dramatists with great care. As seen above this is not, however, the case in the early formative period of that language. It arose after Aśvaghoṣa and slowly established itself in the language and at the end was taken to be the distinguishing feature of that Prakrit.

Another perplexing point about this change is that it occurs where it should not be found according to the rules of the Prakrit grammarians. In the verses of Mṛcchakaṭika of Śūdraka which are usually supposed to be written in Māhārāṣṭri and which are required by the rules of Sanskrit dramaturgy to be so written, we find traces of this change along with the dropping of *t*. So we have *rakhidum* = *rakṣitum* (2, 3), *turidam* = *tvaritam* (2, 18), *Pasadom edi* (2, 18), and so on. This fact may be explained on the supposition that these verses are in reality written in Śauraseni and not in Māhārāṣṭri as is usually supposed. Much more difficult it is to explain its presence in works like *Setubandha*. In that Prakrit epic of Pravarasena we find forms like *dē* (3, 10), *dāva* (3, 26), *udu* (3, 26) and others¹. These forms are not admissible in the Māhārāṣṭri language. We have, on the other hand, the early testimony of Daṇḍin to the effect that this epic was written in the Prakrit called Māhārāṣṭri. Dr. Jacobi has pointed out traces of this phonetic change in the Prakrit romance of Haribhadra called the *Samarādityakathā*². This work is supposed to be written in the language called Jain Māhārāṣṭri. In another early work, the *Vasudevahīḍi* of Saṅghadāsa and Dharmadāsa³, we can trace this change in words like *uddhū* = *utākō* (p. 12), *vipathāddio* = *vipathātīlo* (p. 19), and *padiyā* = *patīnā* (p. 70). In few cases *t* is kept, *viditam* (p. 6), *naditam* (p. 34) while in some places original *d* is preserved, *ḍpadam* (p. 12), *bha-yada* (p. 2), *pādava* (p. 5), *pamādi* (p. 8) and others. These references to this change in Māhārāṣṭri literature show that in the early stages of that language there must have been some effect of this change of which these few traces are only remnants lagging behind. In later times the other change of dropping the intervocalic consonants completely effaced this change from Māhārāṣṭri literature.

As a rule⁴, in Ardha-Māgadhi the language of the Śvetāṁbara

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1. Cp. Goldschmidt Rāvapavaho. Introduction, p. XVII.
 2. Jacobi Notes on Jain Literature. Modern Review, 1914; Introduction to his edition in B. I., No. 169, 1925.
 3. Published in Ātmānanda Jain Granthamālā, No. 80.
 4. Dr. P. L. Vaidya, A. Amg. Grammar, p. 19.

canon, both *t* and *d* should be elided. So we have forms like *payā-vai* = *prajāpati*, *dhareṇiyala* = *dharapitāla*, *mayaṇa* = *madana*, and others which follow this rule. But sometimes we find forms like *uddāhu* (Vi.¹ 28), *sidiya* (Vi. 56), *adūra* (Ni.² 3; Anu.³ 56), *samudaya* (Ni. 38), *videka* (Vi. 31; Ni. 36), and *niddāna* (Vi. 23) in which *t* is changed to *d* and the original *d* is retained. *T* is preserved in *atīki* (NL 93), *avītaka* (Ni. 16), *royātāka* (Ni. 119) and others. In the MSS. *t* is very often found used in place of the various single consonants that are dropped, and this is taken by some⁴ to be the characteristic of Ardha-Māgadhi. But really speaking it is a peculiarity of Jain MSS. and its arbitrary use shows that it has nothing to do with the retention of *t*.

This change also plays an important part in the language of the Digambara Jains. Pischel⁵ called that language Jain Sauraseni on the basis of this rule being found therein to a considerable extent. Normally *t* is changed to *d* in this Prakrit. So *iti* becomes *idi*, *ghāti* becomes *ghādi*, *devatā devaddā*, *pati padi* and so on. In words like *ayisaya* = *atīsaya*, *eyam* = *etad*, *ghāti* = *ghāti*, *parīṣai* = *paripati*, *suya* = *śruta* *t* is dropped. Original *d* is almost always retained while *t* is preserved nowhere. It is either changed into *d* or elided. This will indicate that by this time the change affecting *t* has worked itself out completely.

The presence of this change in other Prakrits is of no great value. It is found in Māgadhi where it is usually in correspondence with its presence in Sauraseni, if it has not undergone the further change of cerebralisation which is very common in that language. In Pāli and its sub-dialect Culikā-Pāli we find the contrary change of *d* to *t* which is the result of the tendency of hardening the soft consonants found in that Prakrit. In Apabhrāṁśa, however, the presence of this change is of some importance. The normal Apabhrāṁśa, in which the majority of the existing works are written, is much more akin to Māhārāṣṭri and shows no trace of this change. But its oldest dialect the Vṛācada Apabhrāṁśa is found to contain this change to a considerable extent. It is true, that Hemacandra nowhere makes a distinction between the various dialects of Apabhrāṁśa, but his treatment shows unmistakable signs of the presence of this dialect. Further he does admit that there are dialects in Apabhrāṁśa as is evident

1. Vipākasūtra, Ed. by Vaidya, Poona, 1933.
2. Nirvāṇavaliyā, Ed. by Vaidya, Poona, 1932.
3. Antagadadasī and Aguttaravāliadasī, Ed. by Vaidya, 1932.
4. Haragovinda Das Seth. Introduction to his Pāliasaddarmahāpāsava, p. 28.
5. Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, p. 20.

from the remarks in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*. Some of his Sūtras and the verses quoted herein illustrate the Vṛācaṇ dialect. Rudrata's Apabhrāṣṭa verses¹ of this dialect also contain this change. From this fact it appears that this change has affected the Apabhrāṣṭa language in its early period.

From all the evidence adduced it is very difficult to say that this change is the peculiar and distinctive feature of Śauraseni Prakrit. In fact, in the early stages of all the Prakrits we have no trace of it. It must have originated after the date of Aśvaghoṣa and the Prakrit inscriptions of the second century A.D. This change is a natural result of the wider change of softening the hard consonants, and it must have been working in all the Prakrits which have a tendency to soften. It is later than the origin of Śauraseni and affected it at a later stage in its development. Soon after, the development of Śauraseni was stopped and the grammarians took it to be the special feature of that language. It has also affected the Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit in its primitive stage, but for various reasons that Prakrit was not stereotyped until the further change of dropping the intervocalic consonants has affected it. Naturally the grammarians postulated the rule of dropping *t* and other stops for Māhārāṣṭri. The few traces that are found in that language are to be taken as the remnants of the earlier stage of that language. Its continuance in a particular locality where Śauraseni was current has further affected other languages which came in contact with it.

The Change of th to dh :—Another phonetic change in this language is that of *th* to *dh* (Va. 12, 3; Hem. 4, 267; Mār. 9, 24; Rt. 2, 1, 5). The history of this change is practically the same as that of the previous one except that in its later development *th* was changed to *k*. This change is further not found in Māhārāṣṭri at any stage in its development. Another question that arises in this connection is about the treatment of *d* and *dh* which are found in the original words in Sanskrit. Hemacandra, if interpreted correctly, appears not to allow them, and rules that they should be treated exactly as in Māhārāṣṭri. This should make us drop *d* and change *dh* to *k*. Most of the modern scholars have taken this implication of Hemacandra as correct. Accordingly Konow gives in his edition of Karpūramāñjari forms *uāra* = *udāra* (1, 19, 2), *kaali* = *kadali* (4, 18, 3) where *d* is dropped, and *accahama* = *atyadhama* (1, 20, 4), *ahiva* = *adhipa* (3, 5, 2) and others where *dh* is changed into *k*. Prof. Suru gives in his Priyadarśikā forms like *viviha* = *vividha* (p. 10), *mahuera* = *madhu-*

1. *Kāvyālaṅkāra* IV.

kara (p. 17), *sāhu* = *sādhu* (p. 23), and others where *dh* is reduced to *h*, while he appears to keep *d* in words like *Kadali* (p. 19), *nivedita* = *nivedita* (p. 25), etc. R. Schmidt¹ makes it a rule that both *d* and *dh* should be so treated (5). This rigorous interpretation of Hemacandra's rule does not appear to be correct. In his *Kāvyāñśasana*² he gives us a verse which can be supposed to be written both in Sanskrit and Śaurasenī. There we find *d* kept in words *dalak*, *mada*, *medirā*, and *sāmoda*, while *dh* is found in *adhara*, *madhura*, *sādhu*, and *payodhara*. As the verse is intended to serve both as Sanskrit and Śaurasenī there cannot be any doubt of the proper preservation of the readings. This verse will lead us to conclude that Hemacandra never intended the treatment which is given to these two consonants by modern scholars. Märkandeya lays down the rule that original *d* should not be dropped in Śaurasenī (9, 26). Rt. further adds that original *dh* is not to be changed to *h* (2, 1, 6-7). In Aśvaghoṣa *d* is preserved in *hidayena*, *komudagandha*, *ādaviso*, and *dh* in *dadhi*, *sādhu*, and others. In the verses of the Nāṭyaśāstra *d* is preserved in many places like *chādantā* (4), *rudadi* (9), *vidāride* (11), *jaladd* (14), *pādavasi* (16), *sadana* (22), *nīnāda* (30), *pāmadavana* (36), *kumuda* (38) and so on. *dh* is preserved in cases like *vadhu* (19), *mādhava* (24), *vividha* (38), and a few others. In many cases it is reduced to *h*; *salilahara* (6), *jalahara* (29), *mahihara*, etc. These cases must be explained as due to the influence of Māhārāṣṭri. From the point of view of phonology it appears inconsistent to drop *d* when *t* is changed to *d*, and to reduce *dh* to *h* when *th* is changed into *dh*. In this respect I think that Märkandeya and Rāma Tarkavāgiśa are right, in spite of the fact that they come so late in time, in relation with other grammarians. Even Hemacandra appears not to have intended it. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule. Var. gives *vyāḍyā* and Mär. adds *patākā* and *garbhita* where *t* is changed to *d*. (Va. 12, 4; Mär. 9, 20). He further adds that *prathama* and *Pṛthavi* do not change their *th* to *dh* (9, 24).

The Intervocalic Stops :—The question of dropping the intervocalic consonants like *k*, *g*, *c*, *j*, and others is much more clear and easy to follow in its development. In Aśvaghoṣa we do not find this elision of these stops, and we find them preserved in *rucakena*, *duguna*, *Magadhavati*, etc. In Bhāṣa their treatment is uncertain; *k* is preserved in *ekha*, *kokavada*, *bakuka*, and dropped in *āḍidi* = *āḍyti*, *āvantī* = *āvantikā*, and *bahu* = *bahuka*; *g* is found in *bhāga-deya*, *māgadhiā*, *vēga*, etc., but is dropped in *bhādheo*, *mādhiā*,

1. Elementarbuch der Śaurasenī, Hannover, 1924, p. 10.

2. Kāvyamālā, No. 70.

veenā, āada; *c* is retained in *ucida*, *vācaissadi*, *vācāda*, etc., but is dropped in *uīda* and others; *j* is preserved in *abhijana*, *parittajā*, etc., *p* is dropped in *anteera*, *kavayāra*, *niuya*, and also changed to *v*. The Nātyāśāstra also shows the same condition of either preserving or dropping the stops; *k* is dropped in *valaya*, *loya*, *śasīya*, it is preserved in *madhukarikā*, *sandakam*; *c* is dropped in *sahayara*, *tiaradi*, and preserved in *nicaradi*; *g* is dropped in *goyaya*, *skandha*, and is found in *nage*; *j* is elided in *paḍigaya*, *raṇi*, and found preserved in *moyasija*, *teja*, etc. In later times the dropping of these consonants was a rule. This was either due to the hasty generalisations on the part of the grammarians or it was the effect of the strong influence of Māhārāṣṭri which was affecting all the Prakrits in later times because of its dominating position. In Māhārāṣṭri itself it may be the effect of its exclusive use in songs and lyrics where vowels count for all and the consonants for nothing as being of no great use to the melody.

In the language of the Digambara works the treatment of these consonants is equally uncertain. *K* is generally softened into *g*, as in *ad̄hika* = *adhika*, *khāiga* = *kṣāyika*, *guṣṭappagārī* = *guṇātmakāmī*, *paṭtega* = *pratyeka*, *loga* = *loka*, possibly the effect of the influence of Ardha-Māgadhi the language of the Jain canon. Sometimes *k* is elided, *ajjhāveya* = *adhyāpaka*, *ahiyan* = *adhikāmī*, *tīthayara* = *tīthakara*, *sayala* = *sakala*, and scarcely it is retained, *ad̄hika*; *g* is retained in *āgama*, *bhogekīmī*, *roga*, *rāgo*; *c* is also often preserved, *ayadōcēra* = *ayatōcēra*, *ālocittā* = *ālocya*, *vimocido* = *vimocita*; it is dropped in *āloyaya* = *ālocana* and *pavayaya* = *pravacana*; *j* also stands on the same footing.

The Intervocalic Aspirates :—The aspirates *kk*, *gh*, *ph*, *bh*, are found to show a similar development. In Aśvaghoṣa we find them kept in *sakhi*, *dullabha*, *bubhukkhā*. In Bhāṣā we find *parikheda*, *aghā*, *ogha*, *silāghasīa*, *oghaṭṭadi*, *megha*, *adhi*, *abhippeda*, *mandabhgā*, and *abhijana* in which they are retained, while they are elided in *bhaddensūha*, *suha*, *meha*, *laku*, *aki*, *sahala*, and *ayuhūda*. In the Nātyāśāstra *kk* is dropped in *muhe*, *muhala*, *sahala*, but is kept in *sukha*, *mukhi*, etc. Both *megha* and *meha* are found; *bh* becomes *h* in *sōha*, *sōhida*, and is retained in *nabhatala*, *sammibha* and others. In the Pravacanasāra we find *kk* reduced to *h* in *suhā*, *suhida*, and *bh* in *lahadi*, *vasaho*, *rihavo*, *sahāvo*, *suhena*; sometimes it is retained as in *ayubhēgo*, *abhibhūya*, *nabho*, and *sabbhāva*.

Besides these rules about consonants the eastern grammarians add many rules which are mostly restrictive in that they do not allow some forms in Sauraseni which are otherwise correct in Māhārāṣṭri. It is very difficult to determine how far they are acceptable as there is

no evidence to decide the point one way or the other. In Śauraseni *sikhara* does not change its *kk* to *bk* (Mär. 9, 19; Rt. 2, 1, 6); *candrikā* does not change its *k* to *m* (Mär. 9, 19; Rt. 2, 1, 6; cp. Mudrārākṣasa, 6, 1. *candimād*); *apīrsa* becomes either *auvva* or *avarūva* (Mär. 9, 23; Rt. 2, 1, 6) while according to Hem. *apurava*; *bharata* becomes *bharadha* (Mär. 9, 25); *chāva* becomes *sēva* and not *chāva* (Mär. 9, 32; Rt. 2, 1, 8); *yaśi* does not become *latthi* (Mär. 9, 35; Rt. 2, 1, 8; cp. Marāṭhi, *lāthi*.); *kirāta* does not become *cilāta* (Mär. 9, 36; Rt. 2, 1, 8); *karidrā* does not become *haliddā* (Mär. 9, 28; Rt. 2, 1, 7; cp. Marāṭhi *hajada*); in words *daś* and others *s* is not changed to *k* (Mär. 9, 31; Rt. 2, 1, 7; cp. Marāṭhi *dakha*, Hindi *das*); in words like *dold*, *dandā*, *daśera*, *dakha*, Śauraseni does not admit cerebralisation (Mär. 9, 37, Rt. 2, 1, 8); in *sammarda* and *gardhabha* there is no cerebralisation (Mär. 9, 42; Rt. 2, 1, 9; similarly Aśvaghosa); *idāniś* becomes *idāsi* or *idāni* (Mär. 9, 52; Rt. 2, 1, 13) but in Aśv. we find *dāni* and *idāni* and Hem. gives *dāpiśi*. For all such changes and restrictions it is not possible to determine their validity. As early as Rājaśekhara many of them are violated while others are scrupulously followed by others.

Conjunct Consonants :—The three conjuncts *ny*, *ŋy*, *jñ* fare differently at different hands. Hemacandra gives them the same treatment as one received in Māhārāṣṭrī, and so they should be reduced to *ŋy*. In this he is followed by most of the modern scholars. (Schmidt 6-7). Vararuci gives the substitute *ñj* optionally in words like *brāhmaṇya*, *vijña*, *yajña*, and *kanyakā* (12,7), but in *sarvajña*, and *śigitejña* it is *ŋy* (12, 8). Kramadīśvara gives *ñj* for *vijña*, *yajña*, *adhijña* and *pratijña* (5, 76). Pischel¹ thinks that both these rules are doubtful because no other grammarian has given them and no MS. shows them. He would like to attribute it to some scribal mistake. Mārkandeya gives both *jj* and *ŋŋ* for these conjuncts (9, 46).

In Aśvaghosa we find that all these three conjuncts are reduced to one *ññ*, *akitañña* = *akṛtañña*, *anñña* = *anya*. Bhāsa shows both *ññ* and *ŋŋ* with equal frequency; *jñ* is reduced to *ññ* in *akkharaññā* = *akṣarajña*, *alhaññā* = *arthajña*, *adesakālaññādā* = *adeśakālajñatādā*, *akidaññā* = *akṛtañña*, *bhāvaññā* = *bhāvajña*, *rūvaññā* = *rūpajña*, it becomes *ŋŋ* in *ayyadā* = *ajñatā*, *pariyādā* = *parijñāna*, *janya* = *yajña*, etc.; *ny* becomes *ññ* in *abhimāññu* = *abhimanyu* and *ŋŋ* in *ayya* = *anya*, *kanyaā* = *kanyakā*, *ny* becomes *ññ* in *dakkhinññādā* = *dāksinjñatā*. From this it appears that *ññ* is the older and *ŋŋ* the younger substitute². In later dramas *ŋŋ* alone is found. Hem-

1. Gra. der Pr., p. 191.

2. Printz, op. cit., p. 20.

candra¹ admits *ññ* as the proper substitute for Māgadhi and Paliāci. In Jain Sauraseni *yy* alone prevails². In this confusion it is not possible to decide definitely the correct substitute but if we are to value the evidence of the ancient writers as of greater weight we will have to say that all the Prakrits except Māhārāṣṭri agreed in reducing these three conjuncts to one and the same form *ññ*, but later on it was changed to *yy*.

The conjuncts dy and ry :—The conjunct *ry* has received different treatment. Hemacandra says that it is substituted by either *yy* or *jj* (4, 266). In Bhāsa *ry* is reduced to *yy* in *ayya* = *ārya*, *kayya* = *kārya*, *payyatta* = *paryāpta*, *payyattha* = *paryasta*, *bhayyā* = *bhāryā*, etc., and to *jj* in *ajjuḍ* = *āryakā*, *kojjā* = *kārya*. In later dramas *jj* is found with greater frequency. In Mudrārākṣasa we find forms like *kajja* = *kārya* (1, 16), *ajja* = *ārya* (6, 1), and in Mṛcchakaṭika *ajja* = *ārya* (6, 14) in the verses. The usage of Nātyaśāstra wavers between *yy* and *jj*.

Dy is reduced to *yy* by Aśvaghoṣa in *jīsuuyyāna* = *jīṣodyāna*. In Bhāsa *dy* becomes *yy* in *uyyāṇa* = *udyāṇa*, and *jj* in *ajja* = *adya*, *pajjoda* = *pradyota*. Later *dy* is regularly reduced to *jj*. Here also it appears that originally both these conjuncts were reduced to *yy* alone and only in later times *jj* took its place possibly under the influence of Māhārāṣṭri.

The conjunct ks :—In the treatment of the conjunct *ks* we have a real distinction based on dialectal variation. The eastern grammarians are perfectly right in assigning *kkh* in Sauraseni and *cch* in Māhārāṣṭri, a distinction unknown to the western school. Both in Aśvaghoṣa and Bhāsa *kkh* is found in most cases, *akkhi* = *akṣi*, *antarikkha* = *antariṣṭa*, *kukkhi* = *kukeśi*, *khaya* = *ksaya*, *dakkha* = *dakṣa* and others. This distinction is handed down even in modern vernaculars and can be seen with clarity in the treatment which the Sanskrit words receive in Marāṭhi on one hand and Gujarāti and Hindi on the other. So *kṣetra* Guj. Hin. *kke*, Mar. *śet*; Sk. *ikṣu*, Hin. *ikk*, *ūkk*, Mar. *ūs*; Sk. *pakṣa*, Hin. *paikkh*, Mar. *pīsa*; Sk. *kuṅki*, Hin. *kokh*, Guj. *kūkkh*, Mar. *kūs*; Sk. *makṣikā*, Hin. Guj. *mākhi*, Mar. *māsi*; and so on³.

The Vowels :—Of the vowels the treatment given to *r* is of a very confused nature in nearly all the Prakrita. It is changed to *a*, *i*, or *u* in a particular set of words. *U* is mostly found when it is either preceded or followed by a labial sound. In case of the other two

1. Hem. 4, 293; 305.

2. It also shows *ññ*. Upadhye, op. cit., p. 162.

3. Bhāskararām, Collected Works, Vol. IV, p. 445.

substitutes, however, there appears to be a dialectal difference underlying it. Māhārāṣṭri appears to favour *a* where Sauraseni would prefer *i*. This fact is noted by the eastern school of the grammarians when they put restriction on the use of *a* and extend the scope of *i* in the changes of original *r*. So Vararuci says that *i* is used in words like *grdhra* and others, (12, 6); Mārkaṇḍeya extends its scope to a considerable extent (9, 16). In Aśvaghoṣa we find *i* in words like *sadisa* = *sadr̥sa*, *hidaya* = *hṛdaya*. In Bhāṣa we find forms like *śidi* = *śṛkti*, *samiddhi* = *samṛddhi*, *bhartīdāriā* = *bhartṛdārikā*, *pakida* = *prakṛta*, *pavitta* = *pravṛtta*, *riddhi* = *rddhi*, *jaicchā* = *yadrcchā*, etc., where *i* is used. Before the suffix *k*, *r* is usually changed to *u* as in *jāmādua* = *jāmār̥ka*, *bhādua* = *bhrāt̥ka* and others. This distinction is found in the two main dialects of the inscriptions of king Aśoka and appears again in the modern vernaculars, Sk. *tṛṣṇa*, Guj. Hin. *tiṇa*, Mar. *tana*; Sk. *kṛta*, Guj. Hin. *kido*, *kīḍa*, Mar. *kele*; Sk. *bhrāt̥*, Guj. *bhāl*, Mar. *bhāū*; Sk. *gṛta*, Guj. *ghi*.

The Diphthongs :—As regards the changes of *au* and *ai* to *āū* and *āī* Mārkaṇḍeya refuses to admit them in Sauraseni (9, 13, 15) and herein agrees with the practice of Aśvaghoṣa where only *e* and *o* are found. In the Pallava grant only *e* is found in *vijayavefayike*. According to the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians in words like *kaitya*, *vaiśākha*, *svaira*, *vaira*, etc., *e* alone should be used and in others like *kauṭa*, *gaudā*, *mauna*, *mauñi* and *saudha* *o* should be used. In these words Māhārāṣṭri, however, uses *āī* and *āū* necessarily. It is very difficult to find the trace of this distinction in the modern vernaculars, but a comparison of forms like Guj. *sohāg*, Mar. *sau-bhāgya*, Guj. *besavun*, Mar. *baitsaze*, Guj. *codā* and Mar. *caudā* would indicate it to some extent¹.

There are a few other vowel changes operating in particular words. The grammarians give that *vetasa* and *atigāra* do not change their *a* to *i* as in Māhārāṣṭri (cp. Ma. *ingla*); *caturtki* and *badara* have no *o* (Mar. 9, 3, Rt. 2, 1, 1; cp. Hin. *ber*, Ma. *bor*); in words like *pathā*, *tathā*, *kumāra*, *mārjāra* *ā* is not shortened (Mār. 9, 4, Rt. 2, 1, 2; cp. Ma. *kuvār*); in *pīḍa*, *turya*, *dhammilla* and others there is no *o* taking the place of *u* (Mār. 9, 5-6, Rt. 2, 1, 2; cp. Guj. *pīḍ*, Ma. *pīḍ*, Guj. *sūkḍh*, Hin. *sūḍh*, Ma. *sōvīḍ*); words like *īdṛṣā*, *īdṛṣā* do not change their *i* to *e*, a fact proved by the usage of the best MSS. (Mār. 9, 8, Rt. 2, 1, 2); the word *puruṣa* does not become *puruṣa* a thing attested to by Bhāṣa (Mār. 9, 9) and a few other unimportant rules.

1. Jahagirdar. An Introduction to the Comparative Philology of Indo-Aryan Languages, p. 113.

MORPHOLOGY.

Declension :—In the declension of nouns we have the debatable question of the correct forms in the Loc. Sing. of *a*-stems. The eastern school (Mär. 9, 62 ; Rt. 2, 1, 14) explicitly states that in Sauraseni forms only in *e* are admissible. The eastern school is not definite on this point but it appears that they would allow forms in *əmī* as well, as equally correct.

Pischel¹ has taken the view of the eastern school as the correct one. He naturally regards all forms in *əmī* as incorrect in this language. Konow has also expressed the same opinion in the introduction to his edition of Karpūrāmaśījari where he criticises Rājaśekhara for failing to distinguish between Māhārāṣṭri and Śauraseni. Rājaśekhara uses such forms as *majjhāmī* (Krp. 16, 8), *kavāmī* (Krp. 16, 8), *rāmāmī*, *sedusimantamī* in the prose of his dramas.

In the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa we do not get forms in Loc. Sing. Bhāṣa has forms only in *e* as in *muke* (Bc. 10, 11), *hatthe* (Bc. 10, 11), *gehe* (Bc. 13, 12), and only in Ardhā-Māgadhi he uses the form *majjhāmī* (Bc. 59, 11). The inscriptions of Aśoka show forms in *əi* or *mī* but never in *əmī*.

In Mudrārākṣasa there are forms like *sampūṇyamāṇḍalamī* (1, 18), *cāṇakkamī* (1, 20), in which *əmī* is used, while there are others like *cande* (1, 18), *akarue* (1, 20), *varāhīe* (1, *20), *nirake* (6, 2), and *kule* (7, 3) where *e* is found. These verses are no doubt in Sauraseni and it appears that forms in *əmī* were used in that language. In the verses of Mṛcchakaṭīka we find *vajjhāmī* (10, 10) and *kūvāmī* (10, 24), but in the prose passages *e* is uniformly used. In the Nātyāśāstra there are forms *āṅgāyamī* (10), *sisramī* (12), *japayamī* (12), *vāyamī* (12), *nimmalayamī* (26), *kuriyamī* (29), *gayaṇamī* (30), *bahulamī* (57), *kusumamī* (77), *saramī* (107), where *əmī* is found, but the number of forms in which *e* is used far exceeds these.

From the evidence of the Nātyāśāstra Mr. Ghosh² concludes that forms in *əmī* are admissible in Sauraseni. He argues that the authority of Mārkandeya and Rāma Tarkavāgiśa is doubtful as they come so late in the history of Prakrit grammar. Hemacandra does not impose such a restriction and being a writer of Gujarat his testimony for Śauraseni is of greater value. The testimony of Rājaśekhara who had a considerable knowledge of the Prakrits as is seen from his

1. Gra. Pra. Spr., p. 253.

2. H. O. S. No. 4, p. 203.

3. I. H. Q., Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 9-12.

Kāvyamimāṃśā, uses them in his dramas. Lastly it is found in Śaurasenī Apabhraṃṣṭa.

This line of argument, however, overlooks one vital question, and that is of historical development. As we have seen, early writers like Aśvaghoṣa and Bhāsa do not use forms in *āmī*. By the time the verses of the Nāṭyaśāstra were composed we find that the forms in *āmī* have made their way therein. In the early dramas they have taken their place in the verses only, while at the time of Rājaśekhara they were used in prose as well. Their presence in Apabhraṃṣṭa needs no explanation. So it is clear that originally Śaurasenī did not admit forms in *a*, but slowly came to acquire them. It is due to the influence of Māhārāṣṭri, a fact made extremely probable by its entrance first in the verses, which, very early, came to be regarded as written in Māhārāṣṭri under the pressure of the theory of writers on poetics.

Ablative Singular :—According to Hemacandra the Abl. Sing. of *a*-stems is formed by the use of two inflections *ādo* and *ādu*. (4, 276). Both Mār. and Rt. give the form in *ādo* as correct, while they have nothing corresponding to Hemacandra's *ādu*. In Bhāsa and other dramatists we find forms only in *ādo*, but never in *ādu*. Even in Jain Śaurasenī this additional form is not to be met with except in a few cases where it is doubtful whether it is a short *o* or a genuine *u*. So it is very difficult to know whence Hemacandra took this termination. It can be tentatively suggested that it is the weakening of the normal termination due to the influence of Apabhraṃṣṭa, in the Jain Śaurasenī literature.

Nominative and Accusative Plural :—In case of neuter nouns the nom. and Acc. pl. forms are formed with the addition of *ṣi*, according to both Vararuci and Mārkanḍeya. Hemacandra, however, admits forms in *i* as well. In Bhāsa we find *visaṃtardiyi*, *kesāyi*, *imāyi* *avida-kusumāyi*, *sphoṭidgucchaāyi*, *guṇāyi*, *paṭrāyi*, etc., where *ṣi* is found while those in *i* are not to be met with. Aśvaghoṣa also has no form in *i*. Even Jain Śaurasenī has *ṣi* as the usual termination. *Ni* is, undoubtedly the older form and *i* is an importation into Śaurasenī from the Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit.

Besides these rules, both Mārkanḍeya and Rāma Tarkavigīśa give many rules which try to restrict the multiplicity of forms found in Māhārāṣṭri. *I*- and *u*-stems have no *vo* in Nom. and acc. pl., and no *ssa* in Gen. Sing. *E* alone is to be used in Ins., Ab., Gen. and Loc. Sing. forms of feminine nouns. The guiding principle in all these rules appears to be that forms which depart too much from Sanskrit are not to be used in Śaurasenī.

Pronouns :—As regards the pronominal declension Hemacandra has not a word to say. The eastern school of the Prakrit grammar-

rians, however, gives a host of rules which do not admit many forms in Sauraseni. For the first and second persons the admissible forms are Nom. Sing. *tumāk*. (Aśv. *tuvāk*, Bhāṣa both *tuvāk* and *tumāk*), *amāk*; Plu. *tumāk, vaāk* (Aśv. *vayash*, Bhāṣa *amke* and *vaāk*); Acc. Sing. *tumāk* (Pischel adds *de*), *māk*; Plu. *tumāk, amke*; Ins. Sing. *tae* (Bhāṣa *tue*), *mae*; Plu. *tumkehi, amkehi*; Ab. Sing. *tumādo* (Pischel adds *tumādu*, Śākuntala has *tatto*), *mādo*, *mamādo*; Plu. *tumkehinto*; Gen. Sing. *te, de, tumāk, tuha, tujjha* (Bhāṣa and Aśv. have, *tava*), *me, mama, maha*; Plu. *tumhāyāk, amhāyāk*, (Bhāṣa adds *amhāak*); Loc. *tae*, (Pischel adds *taī, tui*), *mae, mal*; plu. *tumkesu, amhesu*. From this it is apparent that the base *tujjha* is not admitted in Sauraseni except in Ins. Plu. and Gen. Sing. forms. The forms of the personal pronouns in Hemacandra are extremely copious which is due to the fact that he appears to neglect the distinction of the various dialects.

Conjugation :—In the conjugation of verbs the eastern school prescribes the use of Parasmaipada only for this Prakrit (Var. 12, 27, Mär. 9, 97; Rt. 2, 1, 22), while Hemacandra allows both the Padas and gives *de* as the termination for the Atmanepada (4, 274). Atmanepada is generally wanting in all the Prakrits. In Jain Sauraseni however, it is found to a considerable extent as is shown by forms like *jāyade, vattade, niyattade, vedayade, parivamade*, all from Samayasāra. The explanation lies in the fact that this Prakrit was greatly influenced by Sanskrit, which is further proved by the occasional forms of dual which are nowhere to be found in case of others. Hemacandra appears to draw his termination *de* from this literature.

In the first person plural present *māk* only is allowed by the eastern grammarians. But forms in *mo* are to be found in all the dramatists from Aśvaghoṣa onwards, and there appears no reason to deny its validity.

Future.—The future termination is, according to Hemacandra *ssi*, (4, 275), while both Vararuci (12, 21) and Mārkanḍeya (9, 104) give *ssa*. Aśvaghoṣa has *gamiṣ-*, and Bhāṣa shows forms like *karissadi, gamissadi, uvadhāraissadi, kahaissāmī*, etc., but nowhere *ssi*. All the later dramatists show *ssa* only. Therefore, one is at a loss to know whence Hemacandra derived his termination unless it is a scribal mistake. The additional rule that for the first person forms in *ssomī* only are admissible is violated by the dramatists.

Passive :—Of all the grammarians Rāma Tarkavāgiṇa alone says that the passive termination in Sauraseni should be *ta* only (Rt. 2, 1, 23). Pischel takes it to be correct, while Grierson¹ is not willing

1. Ling. Sur., Vol. VII, p. 7.

to admit it, because it is only based on the authority of what Pischel takes to be the best MSS. As early as Bhāsa we find forms like *appajai*, *vivajai* and it is very difficult to evaluate the authority of the MSS.

The Gerunds :—For the formation of the gerunds Hemacandra gives two terminations, *ia* and *dūpa*. The eastern grammarians allow only *ia*. In Aśvaghoṣa we have the single form *kariya*. In Bhāsa forms in *ia* alone occur even in the two roots *ky* and *gam*, where according to both the schools *dua* is to be used. In the Nātyaśāstra, however, there are forms in *śipa* along with those in *ia*. This is, no doubt, to be explained as the influence of the Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit. The termination *dūpa* of Hemacandra appears to be taken over from Jain Sauraseni. For the two roots *ky* and *gam* Hemacandra gives *kaṇḍa* and *gaṇḍa*, while other grammarians have *kaḍua* and *gaḍua* which is attested to by the practice of the dramatists. The rule of cerebralisation is scarcely to be found in this Prakrit and so the forms given by Hemacandra are of doubtful accuracy.

The Dhātuvādeśas :—Lastly the eastern school gives a long list of verbal substitutes. According to them, *bhū* becomes *bho*, *paśy* = *peccha*, *brū* = *vucca*, *kath* = *kadha*, *ghṛā* = *jiggha*, *bhā* = *bhāo*, *mīj* = *phumsa*, *kṣud* = *khunida*, *ghūry* = *ghumma*, *stū* = *thuya*, *bhā* = *bhiya*, *stj* = *ghasa*, *chāp* = *chigga*, *chuva*, *cavv* = *cavva*, *grah* = *gēyha*, *sak* = *sakkay*, and others. Most of them are given by Hemacandra but these rules want to restrict his long list of substitutes to this only. We have no material to decide how far these rules are true and reflect the real nature of this Prakrit. (cp. Mär. 9, 108-147; Rt. 2, 1, 25-31).

CONCLUSION.

From the evidence collected above we may deduce certain conclusions about this Prakrit. Of the features of Sauraseni a few like the change of *t* to *d*, passive in *ia* only, the first person plural in *mīk* are to be rejected as incorrect and contrary to general usage, while others like the retention of original *d* and *dh*, the change of *kṣ* to *kkh*, *r* to *i*, *ai* and *au* to *e* and *o*, Loc. Sing. in *e*, Ab. in *ādo*, Acc. Plu. in *si*, future in *ss*, the gerund in *ia* and others are to be accepted as correct. We further see that the diverse treatment given to the conjuncts *ny*, *yy*, and *jñ*, the change of *t* to *d*, the intervocalic stops and aspirates, the introduction of the gerund in *dūpa* and others are to be explained by the supposition of a gradual development in this language.

Another fact that is made clear is that the usual doubt expressed about the rules of the eastern grammarians is without any founda-

tion. Many of their rules are confirmed by the usage of the old dramatists, and are correct to a great extent. The difference between the two schools is, further, to be explained by the fact that while the eastern grammarians are careful in keeping apart the differences between the various sub-dialects of a Prakrit language, the western grammarians are content in giving the broad features of the main Prakrit languages. Hemacandra appears to include the Jain Sauraseni literature while discussing Sauraseni, and this will explain to a considerable extent his peculiar rules. This is just parallel to his treatment of Māhārāṣṭri where he draws from Jain Māhārāṣṭri.

A. M. GHATAGE.



ASVINS AS HISTORICAL FIGURES.*

The natural tendency of the human mind to seek after what is impossible and unattainable, even with the fullest knowledge that it is so, is visible in his literary pursuits no less than in other spheres. Beginning from the great Yāska of the ancient times down to the modern scholar of the present day, the Rgveda has continued to set their minds working to solve its mysteries, to fathom into its obscurities and to arrive at an unmistakable knowledge of its different features, and if there is one fact revealed by the results the labours of these scholars have produced, it is that with all their efforts it has not been possible for them to arrive at any truth which is wholly satisfactory or satisfactory to all. And yet the human seeker after truth finds the reward of his labours not necessarily in the attainment of the truth, but in the delight and satisfaction which walk hand-in-hand with sincere and disinterested striving. Students of the Vedas may never be able to have the problems of the Vedas fully solved : their reward lies in the very pursuit thereof.

One of the main problems which confronts the student of the Rgveda is regarding the identity and the exact nature of the Vedic gods. The general tendency has been to trace each of them to some natural phenomenon, with their nature and functions identified with the particular phases and workings of that phenomenon. The natural basis of some of the members of the Vedic pantheon, in whose case the anthropomorphism has been too scanty to cover their original nature, cannot be doubted. There are, however, others in whose case there is uncertainty regarding the natural basis assigned to them, while there are not a few of them who do not admit of any satisfactory solution regarding their origin from the mythological point of view. Indra, the great warrior god of the Rgveda, has been traced back to the phenomenon of rain and storm in general and thunder in particular. But this theory is not wholly acceptable in view of evidence furnished by the Rgveda itself, on whose strength scholars have tried to identify him with the sky as well as the storm, with the year and with the sun and the fire, and still he appears as "too stormy to be the sun ; too luminous to be the storm ; too near to the phenomena of the monsoon to be the year or the sky ; too rainy to be fire :

*This article is based on the thesis with the same title submitted by the writer for the degree of M. A. in 1932.

too alien from every one thing to be any one thing."¹ The same argument holds, in a different degree, in the case of other deities like Varuṇa. No one of the theories held forth in the case of these deities may be wholly incorrect, but we must at the same time guard ourselves against being tempted to accept any one of them as *the* acceptable theory. The difficulty at least in the case of some of these deities may be that their identity cannot be explained at all or fully by assigning them to some natural basis. Attempts have been made in the past to refer the problem of finding the original basis of deities to other sources besides the mythological, one of the earliest of these being that of Eumeros, an early Greek student of polytheistic mythology. The doctrine he propounded and which takes its name, Eumerism, from him, embodies a system of mythological interpretation of the gods as historical persons deified and raised to the position of gods after their death. Although this theory may not be applied to all the gods of the Rgveda (though Herbert Spencer seeks to do so and tries to explain even Uṣas in terms of historical persons²), we may, without transgressing the bounds of plausibility and evidence, trace in at least some of them the existence of a historical basis. Indra often betrays distinct traits of a human victor-chief, never so clearly as in his attack against Śambara who appears as the mountain-chief.

The deities we are concerned with in the following pages are the Aśvins who are represented as twin gods. Among the gods of the Rgveda they possess a unique character. Not only do they, like some other deities, betray traits which would point to a historical germ in the origin of their conception as deities, *but in many places they appear as possessed with powers and functions which do not rise above the powers and functions of the finite human being*. If we have in the Rgveda data that point to germs of history in the myths connected with these gods, an attempt may be made to investigate all such data and try to arrive at the truest possible interpretation of the mythological existence of the Aśvins. There are instances in the Rgveda of persons who were human first and deified later. The Rbhus were human marvel-doers whose great skill qualified them for a place among the gods. What is true in the case of the Rbhus may be possible in the case of other members of the Vedic pantheon. The possibility appears greater in the case of the Aśvins in view of the failure of all scholars to arrive at a fully acceptable interpretation of them in terms of mythology.

The Aśvins are marked for their benevolence and readiness to run to the rescue of the devotee and to relieve him of his distress or

1. Hopkins, "Religions of India", p. 91.

2. *Principles of Sociology*, Herbert Spencer, p. 448, etc.

to supply his needs, and there are no deities in the Rgveda who are more obliging and helpful to the human beings than the Aśvins. Many of their deeds and the succour they give to the men have the appearance of medical aids and surgical operations. Efficacy of medical aid has a miraculous significance to the grateful mind. While the deeds ascribed to the other gods are in the nature of distinct miracles, and such as are incapable of being performed by human beings, *the exploits of the Aśvins appear as miracles only in a restricted sense, and more like deeds which could be performed by persons endowed with not more than ordinary human powers.* The most notable of these instances is that of giving an iron leg to Viśpalā who lost her leg of flesh and bone in the battle. More will be said about these instances later. From these facts which we gather from the Rgveda it does not seem improbable that the Aśvins may have been human first,—physicians* and surgeons in whom their admiring patients saw natural and supernatural elements combined, and hence first came to be looked upon as persons possessing supernatural powers and then were deified in view of their benevolence and the efficacy of their aids. It is this theory which, in the light of Rgvedic evidence, deserves notice and investigation, that we propose to examine in the following pages.

For the purpose of this examination, it is not necessary for us to examine the nature of the Aśvins in all its details. We may, however, admit and make it clear at the very outset that whatever the Aśvins may originally have been, it cannot be denied that in the hymns of the Rgveda they have fully attained the status of gods. They are invoked just as any other deity is and have their own share in the sacrificial offerings. Although in comparison with their association with Madhu, their connection with Soma is less prominent, yet evidence is not wanting to prove that they did have a share in the Soma libations offered by the Rṣis. Numerically they rank next to the three great Vedic gods, Indra, Agni and Soma, having no less than fifty entire hymns and several others in part dedicated to them. It is, however, not to our purpose here to examine their divine attributes. But we have to note particularly those features in which they either appear to fall short of divine powers or to possess distinctly human traits. For this purpose, therefore, our attention may be directed to those legends and incidents in which they appear as physicians and general benefactors.

Before we discuss and try to find out the true nature and significance of these legends, we may refer to one theory which has sought to explain them and the protégés of the Aśvins who figure in them as phases of a particular natural phenomenon. Notable among the

protagonists of this theory are Max Müller, Dr. Kuhn, Benfey and Bergaigne. While to Max Müller and Dr. Kuhn, followed by Benfey, they appear to be some phase of the solar phenomenon, Bergaigne has tried to associate them with the Soma cult.¹ To him "the protégés are nothing but some ordinary phases of the Vedic mythology."² These theories however have been thoroughly examined and found wanting in credibility by several modern scholars. "This allegorical method," as Muir calls it, "of interpretation seems unlikely to be correct, as it is difficult to suppose that the phenomena should ever have been alluded to under such a variety of names and circumstances."³ To Keith who admits that a few of the myths like that of the quail⁴ may have a natural background, "the effort (to refer the legends to a natural background) was doubtless futile for once when the gods attained by whatever names and from whatever cause the character of saviours of men, any cultural development and any feat of man in which he deemed himself preserved by divine guidance and assistance could be ascribed to the gods. Thus there could be developed myths which in no conceivable way were ever nature myths."⁵ We may possibly find traces of a natural background in the Aśvins themselves as they appear to us in the Rgveda (which we shall take into account later); but that should not compel us to explain the legends also in the same way in order to complete their picture on the natural background. The different protégés are referred to by their distinguishing names, and occur frequently in the various Mandalas of the Rgveda. Some of the peculiar characteristics of many of them are also preserved in the Mandalas. These characteristics appear so closely akin to human beings, that it is with a considerable stretch of imagination that one can understand them as phases of natural phenomena. Moreover, how would it be possible that a particular phenomenon should present the same similes or allegorical representations to different men in different times (in view of the fact that the hymns of the different Mandalas in which the characteristics of the protégés are mentioned in much the same way were not composed by one man or in one particular age)? If we are to accept the most possible and natural interpretation, the

1. Cf. Interpretations given by Bergaigne in *La Religion Védique*, Vol. III, pp. 5-20.

2. Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, Vol. II, p. 494.

3. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 248.

4. Yāska and Sāyana take the quail to signify the dawn seized and swallowed by the setting sun; Benfey takes it to mean the sun after he sets.

5. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, Vol. I, p. 60.

only way to understand the protégés of the Āśvins is to look upon them as actual persons. It is significant that as modern investigations progressed, most of the later writers including Muir, Hopkins, Macdonell and Keith, have found it impossible to understand the protégés except as actual persons. This later tendency appears to us as a great step towards a more clear and natural way of realising the identity of the Āśvins themselves.

Now, if the protégés of the Āśvins were human beings, what is the nature of the relations that appear to have existed between them and the Āśvins? Speaking about these, Macdonell says, "These may be largely the names of actual persons who were saved or cured in a remarkable manner. Their rescue or cure would easily have been attributed to the Āśvins who, having acquired the character of divine deliverers and healers, naturally attracted to themselves all stories connected with such miraculous powers."¹ The same view is found supported by Keith in the quotation we have already given above. According to these scholars, there is no doubt regarding the historical character not only of the persons themselves but also of the various incidents and accounts of rescue and cure. Although we do not feel bound to accept the theory that the part assigned to the Āśvins in all these legends is not of an actual but a legendary character, it only supports our view of the significance of these legends. A person or a deity can be associated with a function or deed only if he possesses qualities necessary for the performance of such a deed or function, or if he is known to be capable of doing them. It is equally true that the fame of a deity or a person is insulted if his name is connected with an action which represents him as falling short of the powers or capacity which really belong to him. Although the Āśvins may not actually have participated in the works of rescue and cure, the fact of their being associated with them only shows that they were known to possess powers and capacity to accomplish them—while their association with a few of these, as we shall see later on, signifies that they lacked in certain powers. It is in the light of this general feature—the fact that the Āśvins had in them a capacity for bestowing cures and succours—that we proceed to examine the significance of the legends.

Some of the legends show the help given by the Āśvins to be of a general character. The rescue of Bhujyu points to help given to a man who was stranded in the sea. The giving of a horse to Pedu and the help given to Vimada reveal nothing except an ordinary help. Under ordinary circumstances it is beyond possibility to ex-

1. Macdonald, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 52.

pect a eunuch's wife to bear a child. In the case of Vadhrimati, when she gives birth to a son, none would believe that the child was born of her husband. In the *Mahā Bhārata* we have the case of the two wives of the impotent King Pandu, who invoked gods to bestow issue on them. It is stated that the gods (Dharma, Vāyu, etc.) assumed human forms and they produced offsprings from the two queens of Pandu, Kuntī and Mādri. It is significant that the Aśvinikumāras themselves produced the twin sons of the latter—Nakula and Sahadeva. This reference would make it appear probable that the same circumstances may have been connected with the birth of Vadhrimati's child. There is, however, another possibility which, though less probable, cannot be ignored. When we remember that in Rv. VII. 67, 6, the worshippers pray to the Aśvins to bestow on them "genital vigour" (*Prajāvad Retah*), can we reject as totally incredible the possibility that Aśvins the physicians may have by some means been able to remove the impotence of Vadhrimati's husband and thus enabled him to generate?

The legend of Vadhrimati brings us to another common factor visible in a group of legends. That common factor is their connection with marriage and union. As a result of their blessings, boons or cures, several persons have obtained spouses, to some union was made possible, while to others it was made fruitful. They helped Vimada to carry off his bride, while to the king Sudāsa they brought Sudevi. The cure effected upon Ghoṣā made it possible for her to marry, while Kali and Syāva also being liberated from their maladies, gained their wives. Cyavana was married but was too old to be a proper match for his youthful wife. So they rejuvenated him and made him stir the longing of maidens. Vadhrimati, as we have just seen above, obtained her child through their favour. In this connection, it is significant to note that they are said to "deposit germs of life within all female creatures."¹ They are invoked to make marriage fruitful and, as we have just seen, they are requested to grant genital vigour.

If we are to accept the fact of Rebha and Vandana being buried into a pit for ten nights and nine days as it stands, their rescue is nothing less than a miracle. But the pit in which both of them as well as Kaṇva and Atri were thrown, may as well be a dried-up well or an underground cell. The act of drawing them out of the pit is a succour of a general nature. But we find that the Aśvins did not stop with merely drawing them out. They cured them all of the infirmity which had come over them after they were

1. Rv. I. 112, 9.

thrown into the pit. Rebha and Vandana, who had evidently lost strength and were in a collapsing condition, received manly strength and extended life respectively from the Aśvins. Atri was thrown into a pit which was full of fire or other burning material. The Aśvins rendered the scorching ineffective. This may have been accomplished either by exercising some power over the fire itself or by administering some cooling balm to the skin of Atri. After he came out, the Aśvins gave him food that was strengthening. This strengthening food and the granting of strength as well as extended life forcibly remind us of giving invigorating tonics to invalids and stimulants to patients in a collapsing state, to bring back vigour and strength to them or save them from a final collapse. We cannot get rid of this idea especially when we view these acts as painted on the background of the fame of the Aśvins as physicians.

Katya—who really belongs to the above group as being thrown into the cauldron—and Rjṛāśva received their eye-sight from the Aśvins. To this group we would add Parāvṛj also except for his more prominently being the protégé of Indra. (He is said to have been cured of his sight by the Aśvins.) But even this instance is not without its own significance. Parāvṛj, we admit, was cured of his infirmity by Indra. But the idea that the Aśvins were specially connected with the curing of blindness along with other diseases was so prominent in the minds of the poets, that they could not help assigning the credit of curing Parāvṛj to the Aśvins although they did not cure him. Another instance of restoration of sight by the Aśvins is found not in the Rgveda but the Maha Bhārata—that of Upamanyu. They cured him by giving him an apūpa to eat.

There are two persons who are said to have been cured of leprosy and afterwards enabled to marry—Ghoṣā, the daughter of Kakṣvat and Syāva, the descendant of Katya.

It has been held by many that the theory of rejuvenation as a practical experiment belongs to the twentieth century. "The problem of making man young again" we quote from a newspaper review of the work of Drs. Voronoff and Lauhsen on the problem of old age, "was still regarded as a dream when for the first time Voronoff read his report at the conference of Surgeons in Paris in 1919, about his experiments on Rejuvenation by grafting glands in 120 animals and set the world aghast."¹ It is reported that the doctor mentioned in the quotation has been able to work out a process of rejuvenation in men as well since 1922. When we read in the Aśvin hymns of the Rgveda stories about rejuvenation, we

1. *Times of India*, 20th February, 1932, p. 12.

wonder whether rejuvenation was a mere fancy or a divine miracle. But the details which we come across specially in connection with the legend of Cyavana, make it clear that it was not so. In the light of the modern invention of practical methods of rejuvenation it appears probable that the restoration of youth to Cyavana, Kali and Kakṣīvat was not a pure miracle, but may have been effected by some medical treatment. Cyavana was restored to youth, so we learn from the Brāhmaṇas and the epics, by bathing in a pool. If this pool had the inherent capacity of rejuvenating, why could it not rejuvenate Cyavana when he had already bathed in it first? It was only when the Aśvins had agreed to bestow youth upon him that the second plunging was successful. From this we may conclude that the capacity of rejuvenating was not in the pool itself but rested with the Aśvins. We are acquainted with the modern Indian invigorating tonic known as Cyavana Prāśa. The Ayurveda mentions that this Prāśa was prescribed by Cyavana as a tonic for regaining vigour and strength. We cannot believe that Cyavana knew it himself. If he did, why did he depend upon the Aśvins? Besides, Cyavana is never known to have been a physician. We may therefore conclude that it may have been some potion the Aśvins gave to Cyavana which gave him back his youthful vigour. This potion later on may have been prescribed by Cyavana to others. We may note here the reference made to the attempted manufacture of the elixir which was meant to give freedom from old age. The manufacture of this elixir was prohibited at the command of the Aśvins and Indra. It is possible that this was an attempt to imitate the elixir that was given by the Aśvins to Cyavana, and it may have been prohibited by these gods so that rejuvenation may not be cheap.

The story of Dadhyak is as amazing as it is interesting. It was indeed a great wonder to have placed a horse's head on the shoulders of Dadhyak. One question engages our curiosity in this legend, and that is, why did the Aśvins resort to the process of removing the original head, substituting that of a horse and finally putting back the original? If the Aśvins possessed all the powers which gods possess, could they not have given back another human head to Dadhyak after his original head was taken away by Indra? It appears certain that they could not do so. The best that they could do was to conceal Dadhyak's original head, and after Indra removed the horse's head they put it back. It would appear more natural in the case of a full-fledged god that he could have brought back the human head to Dadhyak even after it was taken away. The Aśvins did not do so, and therefore appear as falling short of the capacity of gods. It is also possible to imagine that they had placed

an artificial horse's head, looking like a mask over the original head of Dadhyak. So when Indra came and took off the head, it was the artificial horse's head—which stood over his original head—that was removed. When Viśpalā lost her leg in the fray, it would not have been impossible for the Aśvins, had they possessed all the divine powers, to give her back her own leg of flesh and bone. They had to satisfy her merely with an artificial leg of iron. Both of these stories betray some trait of human and particularly surgical skill. We admit that the performance of removing Dadhyak's head and placing it back was no ordinary case of surgical skill. But the iron leg of Viśpalā reminds us of a case of amputation of a broken leg and substituting it by an artificial one which is a common practice in our days, particularly in the case of those wounded in battle.

Viewing all the legends as an aggregate, we may say that all are instances of help in distress or want; a few bear the semblance of miracles, but a large number of them reveal their medical and—may we say, surgical—skill. Let us make it clear here that we do not look upon the cases which reveal such skill as if they form a medical report or even an authentic record of various cases that underwent cure at the hands of the Aśvins. Far from it. We do admit that in many of the cases there may have been more play of imagination than facts upon which the legends were based. But even after admitting this, the truth remains that whatever the extent of reality may be, such legends could be composed with the Aśvins figuring in them only if there existed a germ of reality from which the legends could be developed with the help of imagination. And this germ was the fame of the Aśvins for their capacity of working such cures. It is enough for our purpose to maintain that, whether the Aśvins actually participated in these works of cure or not, their association with them but reveals their special feature as physicians of men. In additional support of this, if support were needed, so many references of a general character may be cited. They are frequently called upon to protect the bodies,¹ to come like vital air to the bodies.² The worshipper longs for their health-bestowing guidance, and appeals to them to keep at a distance penury and sickness. They are particularly referred to as "Physicians expert in medicine".³ They have in their possession medicines of all sorts—those of the heaven, those of the earth as well as those of the waters.⁴ Their healing

1. Rv. II, 39, 6; VIII, 9, 11.

2. Rv. I, 34, 7.

3. भिषजा मेवेति: Rv. I, 157, 6.

4. किं... दिव्यामि भेषजा यिः पार्थिकानि विशदकमस्तुत्यः। Rv. I, 34, 6.

balm and arts are also mentioned. Rv. X. 39, 3, is typical of their power and acts of healing. It describes them as "the bliss of her who groweth old at home and helpers of the slow although he linger last," and also as "healers of the blind, the thin and the feeble, and the man with broken bones." The legends show that they were supposed to be capable of curing skin diseases like leprosy, that they could restore sight, that the invalids and the feeble could obtain strength and vigour from them, that they could rejuvenate, that they could deposit the genital vigour and that they possessed the skill of surgeons. Lastly, we have to observe a very important trait in them. The three stanzas 7, 8, 9 of Rv. V. 78, which Sayana calls *Garbhasrīvanyupaniṣat* (liturgy of child-birth) are a striking illustration of the aid that they could bestow. The verses say "Like as the wind on every side ruffles a pool of lotuses, so stir in thee the babe unborn, so may the ten-month babe descend. (8) Like as the wind so also, the ten-month babe descend together with the after birth, (9) The child who hath for ten-months' time been lying in his mother's side, may he come forth alive, unharmed, yea, living from the living dame." It appears from these stanzas which occur in an Aśvin-hymn that the Aśvins are expected to come to the help of a woman at the time of delivery. They add to the medical and surgical skill of the Aśvins another feature—we find from them that the Aśvins were supposed to be acquainted with maternity and midwifery.

Madhu or honey has an important place in the science of medicine. It possesses valuable healing properties and is used as a soothing drug. The constant association of the Aśvins with Madhu is therefore significant. It may have been a popular drug which they administered.

The last point that we would deal with in this connection is the comparative position of the Aśvins as physicians among the Vedic gods. In this respect they have a formidable rival in the god Rudra. The remedies of Rudra are frequently mentioned in the Rgveda. To him is given the epithet *Jalāśabheṣaja*.¹ He is appealed to to remove sickness and is called the greatest physician among physicians.² In this respect he appears superior to the Aśvins. But all the above references are only general. There is no instance cited in the Rgveda in which Rudra is shown to have administered his medicines, while there is a large number of such illustrations on the side of the Aśvins. Further, the healing virtues of Rudra are shadowed by his malignant

1. Rv. I. 43, 14; Av. II. 27, 6.

2. जलाशब्देषामिकामः: Rv. II. 39, 4.

and wrathful nature. As Bergaigne says "if Rudra curst, he strikes too. The Āśvins are exclusively beneficent." (Mais si Rudra Guérit, il trappe aussi, et entre lin et les Acvins il y a cette différence essentielle que les Āśvins sont exclusivement bienfaisants).¹ In the case of other gods—like the Sun who is often referred to as a healer, Varuṇa who has a hundred or a thousand remedies—who are said to possess healing properties, we may say as we did in the case of Rudra, that the Āśvins stand unique among all of them by virtue of the practical instances which they have to their credit.

The origin of the Vedic gods is said to be found "in the attempt of the human mind, in a primitive and unscientific age, to explain the various forces and phenomena of nature with which man is confronted."² It is this general belief and the evidence furnished by some striking and obvious instances that have led students of the Vedic religion to try to trace all Vedic deities to some natural phenomenon as the origin of their conception as deities. While they have succeeded in arriving at an interpretation which is generally acceptable in the case of some deities, there is a great variety of opinion in the case of others. The most notable instance of the latter, as we have seen, is the deity which appears in pair—the Āśvins.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa classifies the Āśvins along with Agni and Uṣas as deities of the dawn. But this statement does not help us in arriving at any conclusion regarding their identification with the phenomenon of the dawn. From ancient times, even before the days of Yāskā, many theories have been advocated, but none of them has been found wholly satisfactory and acceptable to all. Yāskā³ mentions as many as four theories advocated by different schools. Two of them, i.e., of those who look upon the Āśvins as "Heaven and Earth" and of those who say that they are "Day and Night" have not found adherents among the later scholars for their theories in their original form. The third, i.e., that they are "Sun and the Moon" as well as the one suggested by Yāskā himself that they represent the half-dark and half-light period of the morning twilight have been advocated by many modern scholars. As regards the last of the four theories, i.e., that of the Aīthīśikas, the Indian Eumenists as Keith calls them, which explains the Āśvins as two pious kings (Rājānau Puṇyakṛtau), it has so far found one follower. Geldner has suggested that they do not represent any natural phenomenon, but were succouring saints (Notheilige) of purely

1. Bergaigne, *La Religion Védique*, Vol. II, p. 436.

2. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 1.

3. Nirukta, XII, 2.

Indian origin.¹ We shall, however, discuss this theory later on as it does not fall under that class which seeks to find the connection of the Aśvins with some natural phenomena.

A general survey of the various theories advocated by different scholars brings us to the following classification :—

- I. Morning Twilight.
- II. Sun and the Moon.
- III. Morning Star.
- IV. Rain-gods.

(I) *Morning Twilight* : The theory that the Aśvins represent the morning twilight was first suggested by Yāska. The time meant for their arrival was, according to him, when darkness is on the point of vanishing and making room for light. This is just before dawn. This half-dark and half-light nature of the morning twilight explains the duality of the Aśvins. This view has been advocated by modern scholars like Goldstucker, Myriantheus and Hopkins. Indeed, as far as the internal evidence furnished by the Aśvin hymns in the Rgveda is concerned, there is no other mythological theory which appears more acceptable than this. Numerous references which point to the identification of the Aśvins with the morning twilight are found in them, and nowhere more frequently than in the seventh and the oldest Mandala of the Rgveda. Their appearance in the morning and their relations with Uṣas are frequently mentioned. When the dawn breaks forth, Savitṛ sends forth the splendour of the Aśvins.² Their rays, chasing the gloom with the day, spreading through the sky a radiance like that of the Sun, let the path of the Sun be known.³ These two passages draw a line of distinction between the Sun and the Aśvins and show that the Aśvins represent some light which precedes the Sun. The number three is always associated with them, and one of the explanations of the significance of this number is given by Hopkins who explains the number three by the three-fold colour of the light which the Aśvins represent. If we are to accept this interpretation, we must admit the Aśvins can represent the morning light only.

(II) *The Sun and the Moon* : If, as we have just seen, there is abundant evidence to prove the identification of the Aśvins with the morning twilight, there still remain some features which cannot be explained in terms of this theory. How can the Aśvins—who with their grey horses represent the grey morning twilight—be said to

1. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II, p. 31.

2. Rv. VII, 72, 4.

3. Rv. IV, 45, 6.

possess a golden form and a car which with all its different parts is entirely made of gold? The Aśvins travel on paths which are reddish but they tread golden paths as well. Such references which do not go in favour of the theory of the morning light are frequent. The phenomenon with which these references can be associated is the Sun alone. The theory, therefore, that the Aśvins represent the Sun—and his brother luminary the Moon—has found equally wide acceptance. It is already included among the four theories mentioned by Yāska and has found advocates in Ludwig, Hillebrandt and Hardy among the western scholars. In commenting upon the eleven verses in which Upamanyu (in the Mahā Bhārata) praises the Aśvins, Vimalabodhācārya has identified the Aśvins with the Sun and the Moon. The car and the horses of the Aśvins can be best explained in terms of this theory. Vimalabodhācārya, in his commentary explains the name Aśvinau as "Aśvāḥ Raśmayah santi anayoh iti."¹ The chariot of the Sun-god with its seven horses and the cripple charioteer Aruṇa is famous in the classical literature. It is only the car of the Sun-god that can with the greatest propriety be said to be made of gold, and it is he, if anybody, who can be said to walk on a golden path. The car and the Aśvins themselves are described as circumambient (parijman). The car goes round the heaven. The Aśvins themselves travel round the earth, and moving above the sky, guard the heaven and earth. They traverse unmeasured spheres on the fields and waters.² With fleet steeds they completely fly round the universe. In order that the Aśvins may be fully interpreted they must be identified with something which is two-fold. The Moon is always associated with the Sun, and so the Moon may have been taken together with the Sun to represent the two Aśvins. The dazzling lustre of the Aśvins with their golden characteristics answer to the Sun, while their resplendent bodies and radiant appearance may refer to the moon. The epithet *puru varpāmsi dadhānā* may apply to the daily changing digits of the moon. It is significant that in one place only one Nāsatya is mentioned and is referred to as circumambient which may distinguish the Sun from the other luminary. According to Yāska, one of the Aśvins is the son of the night while the other is the son of the dawn.³ This may refer to the Moon and the Sun respectively. The references to the

1. Commentary on the verses, Adi Parva of the M. Bh. See Dr. R. Śām Śāstri's article on 'The Aśvins' in the Journal of the Mythical Society of Bangalore, Vol. XX, No. 2, pp. 80-88.

2. VI. 62, 2.

3. Nirukta, XII. 3,

Aśvins as nānā jātau¹ or iheha jātau² may be explained by the fact that the Sun and the moon who are often together sometimes are seen apart from each other. Sūryā is said to be the wife of the Aśvins. The exact nature of Sūryā is not known. In classical literature, Candrikā, which is the feminine form of the masculine word Candra represents the light of the latter. If Sūryā represents anything at all it may be taken to refer to the light of the Sun. This interpretation appears all the more tempting when the Aśvins are taken as representing the Sun and the Moon. Thefeat of rending the mountains which the Aśvins are said to have performed with their car,³ may be a representation of the rays of the sun piercing through the clouds. Lastly, it is of importance to note that the healing power which has made the Aśvins so prominent is also marked in the Sun and the Moon. The Sun is frequently mentioned in the Rgveda as a healing god,⁴ while the Moon is popularly called the lord of herbs (Oṣadhināṁ patih). The number three may find its parallel in the three seasons of the year which are so intimately associated with the course of the Sun.

A word must be added regarding an offshoot of this theory which comes from Dr. R. Śām Śāstri⁵. After accepting the theory of the Sun and the moon, he has attempted to combine with it the two views referred to by Yāska—(1) that the Aśvins are day and night, or (2) heaven and earth. "The earth and heaven," he says, "with which some early Vedic commentator identified the Aśvins as stated by Yāska, are not the ordinary terrestrial and Celestial worlds. They are technical or metaphorical terms denoting the summer and winter solstice". In support of this view he quotes the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III 10, 4). The passage referred to means, "Give meexpand with the day and contract with the night—expand with the night and contract with the day". In this way Dr. R. Śām Śāstri proceeds to prove that the Aśvins represent, not the Sun and the Moon, but the long day of the summer solstice and the long night of the winter solstice. Dr. Sham Shastri is perhaps the first among the modern scholars to handle the theories of ahorātrau and dyāvāppṛthivyau. But the view which he has squeezed out of them seems to strike only to a student of astronomy. We are unable to find any facts relating to the Aśvins in support of this view.

1. Rv. V. 73, 4.

2. Rv. I. 181, 4.

3. Rv. I. 181, 4.

4. Rv. X. 37, 4, etc.

5. "The Aśvins," Journal of the Mythical Society of Bangalore, Vol. XX, No. 2, pp. 80-88.

(III) *Rain-gods*: The theory that the Aśvins are gods connected with rain comes from Votskov, the Russian scholar. In support of this view, Votskov shows instances where the Aśvins appear as bestowers of rain—a factor which, according to him, is peculiar to them. Indeed, instances are not wanting where the Aśvins appear either to have bestowed rain upon the people or as prayed to for the same. They shed sweet rain for Dirghaśravas from the cloud.¹ They made the river Rasā swell full with water floods.² The poet prays that the devotee "may win the very plenteous torrent".³ They liberated 'the flood of milk'⁴ which obviously refers to rain. This trait, however, is by no means, as Hillebrandt points out,⁵ peculiar to the Aśvins. Nor is the same the oldest trait connected with them, for most or all such references as are mentioned above are found in the first *Māṇḍala* which is a later one. We cannot, however, dispose of this trait so lightly as Hillebrandt has done. For in it we obtain the link between these gods and Indra with whom and whose characteristics they seem to have a close connection in some places. On the basis of this connection probably some scholars have even identified the Aśvins with Indra. Roth, believing that he has the support of Yāska, takes the Aśvins to be Indra and the Sun, while to Bergaigne they are Indra and Agni. Not only are the Aśvins found associated with Indra in some of his deeds, but in a few places some of his war-like traits and even deeds are found super-imposed on them. The Aśvins are in one place referred to as giving the ruddy cows away.⁶ They are reported to have baffled the guiles of the malignant Dasyus. They are appealed to to strengthen the devotee on the field of battle, and 'to strike assailants and throw open the doors of the cattle-stalls'.⁷ Add to these traits the luminous nature of the Aśvins with their car and circuits round the heaven, and it becomes possible to look upon the Aśvins as if they were Indra and the Sun—the theory of Roth. Bergaigne in his *La Religion Védique* has tried to interpret every characteristic of the Aśvins—including the legends and the persons figuring in them—in terms of 'Indra-Agni' traits. The epithet Aśvinau which is once applied to Indra and Agni together in Rv. I. 109, 4 has struck him particularly along with the epithet Aśvi (in the singular) which is applied to Agni in two places.⁸ It is one of the Aśvins,

1. Rv. I. 112, 11.

2. Rv. I. 112, 12.

3. Rv. I. 180, 8.

4. Rv. I. 112, 18.

5. Hillebrandt's *Vedische Mythologie*, Vol. I. (Ed. II), p. 64.

6. Rv. I. 112, 19.

7. Rv. VI. 62, 11.

8. Rv. VII. 1, 12; I. 53, 4.

according to Bergaigne, who appears as Agni in these places. In RV. VIII. 26, 8 the Aśvins are addressed as 'Indrandaśatya'. To Bergaigne it appears as Indra and Nāsatya,—referring to one of the Aśvins by the common epithet Nāsatya and the other as Indra. In RV. I. 181, 4, the Aśvins are separately mentioned as the offspring of heaven and the prince of sacrifice. In the verses that follow, one of them is said to possess bay horses (Hari anyasya), and the celestial rivers come and do him service. In these references Bergaigne finds Indra traits and so he identifies 'the offspring of heaven' with Indra, while the other, 'prince of sacrifice', is left to be explained as Agni.

(IV) *Stars* :—The privilege of interpreting the Aśvins as stars was reserved for Bollendorf, Oldenberg, and Manhardt on the one hand and Weber on the other. While the first group finds in them the morning (and the evening) Star, Weber identifies them with the twin stars of the Gemini, Kastor and Pollux. In these theories, the twinship of the Aśvins is conspicuous on account of being entirely neglected in the first, and becoming the sole basis of the second. The advocates of the morning star theory are attracted by the evidence of comparative mythology. In the Lettish legend, the two gods woo the daughter of the Sun. According to their mythology, it is the morning star that comes to look at the daughter of the Sun. It is on the basis of the parallel between the Aśvins and the Lettish gods and the latter's identification with the morning star, that the theory of Oldenberg and others seems to have been founded. The morning as the time of their appearance, their luminous nature and perhaps their journey across the sky may lend support to it. But the morning star is only one and its association with the evening star does not adequately answer to the twinship of the Aśvins—particularly as they are inseparable, and the morning and evening stars are eternally apart from each other. The grounds put forth by Oldenberg in explaining away this difficulty are meagre. In order to put forth his theory, Oldenberg seems to have deliberately ignored a factor which is all important. Weber's theory is based on astronomical grounds. We need say nothing regarding this theory except that the evidence in its favour is too inadequate. It leaves all the characteristics connected with the Aśvins unaccounted for and takes into account their twinship alone.

We have so far examined the various theories with a view to find out to what extent they are supported by evidence in the Rgveda. We observed in the case of the first three that each of them has considerable support and is found to have been based on sufficiently strong grounds. Whatever their comparative value may be, the individual merits of each of them are too strong to be ignored. Only the last

one, i.e., that of the morning star or the stars of the Gemini, does not possess sufficient evidence in its favour. It may not be possible to find that any of the first three theories is able to explain all the characteristics of the Āśvins, but we cannot reject them as totally untenable. That each of them is partially acceptable is seen from the fact that it accounts for some of the characteristics, which cannot be accounted for in terms of any other theory. While, therefore, none of them is to be taken as the final solution of the problem regarding the identity of the Āśvins, each of them must be taken into consideration in finding out a solution.

The above examination of the different theories which seek to find a natural background for the Āśvins, has shown us that none of them can give us an adequate interpretation of the characteristics of the Āśvins which are found in them as deities. The Āśvins only partially appear as the morning twilight, or as the Sun and the Moon, or as Indra (with Agni or the Sun); but they do not admit of a complete identification with any of them. As to what comparative value all these theories have in the light of our own investigations, will be made clear later.

This brings us to the question why, if the Āśvins did originate as a result of anthropomorphosis of some natural phenomenon, there should be so much difficulty in tracing their natural background. "The Āśvins", says a writer, "have lost any clear trace of their origin in nature."¹ It is also true that they appear as "two radiant youths who travel in their chariots across the sky, and, *above all, bring aid to men in trouble*."² The Āśvins, as they are presented to us by the Vedic poets, do not provide us with any definite clue as to their physical basis. On the contrary their connection with men is of an intimate nature and such as is found in the case of no other deity. The characteristics which such connection manifests in them appear too real and human to be merely anthropomorphised traits.

The Āśvins have protégés whom they help in difficulties and rescue from hardship and disease. Some of the other gods too have protégés of their own. But we mark a difference between the way in which protégés of the Āśvins invoked them, and the way in which other gods are invoked. To secure the favour of gods like Indra, the intervention of the priest is generally found necessary. It is the priest who on behalf of the suppliant prays to the god whose favour is sought: But in the case of the Āśvins, the needy person is usually

1. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas*, Vol. I, p. 60.

2. *Ibid.* p. 60.

found to approach them directly and without the help of any intermediary.

We have already noted the peculiarity of the way in which the healing power of the Aśvins is brought out in the Rgveda. It is they alone of all gods mentioned as healers and physicians, whose healing properties are illustrated by concrete instances. These are indeed so many and are described in such details that we cannot look upon all of them as legends which are sheer products of imagination. The details in some of the legends at any rate, appear too realistic to be imaginary. If the Aśvins were, as we are asked to believe, full-fledged gods, we would expect them to pronounce their boons from the starry heavens instead of running to the rescue of a suppliant in the manner of a mortal on every occasion.

Their relations with men, as we have already said above, is marked with great familiarity and intimacy. It is mentioned that the Aśvins were excluded from the circle of Soma-drinking gods. Indra was enraged to find that the vulgar Aśvins, who mingled too much with men to be quite respectable, had been made participants of the Soma. The reference to their "mingling too much with men to be quite respectable" conveys the idea that their relations with men were of a different nature from those of the other gods. A share in the drinking of Soma is the hall-mark of the status of a god in the Vedas. The exclusion of the Aśvins from the Soma-drinking at one time, therefore, shows that at one time they did not enjoy the status of a god. The reason for this exclusion was their intimate connection with men. These two facts together show that the Aśvins possessed in them some traits which were alien to the gods and some which were akin to men.

In the case of Viśpalā and Dadhyak, the Aśvins could not go further than giving the one an iron leg and the other a horse's head. It is difficult to imagine that a god or gods with divine powers, could perform such imperfect wonders. It is only because the Aśvins lacked such divine powers that they had to satisfy their protégés with artificial limbs. It may be argued that these incidents should not be taken as those that really happened, or even if they did take place, the connection of the Aśvins may have been of a legendary character. Even after admitting either possibility, we cannot yet deny the basis of imagination in the one, or of the legendary connection in the other—the belief that the Aśvins had the capacity of only performing such human wonders. Another argument that may be brought forward is that it speaks all the more of the miraculous powers of the Aśvins that they could make a leg of iron work like one of flesh and

bone. Even if it were so, we cannot believe that an artificial thing is preferred to a real one. That person who can make real things is certainly superior in power and capacity to the one who makes artificial things. In fact he who knows how to make real things would not care to produce artificial ones.

The Āśvins are known in the Rgveda to be offsprings of Saranyu and Vivasvān. Saranyu was a divine being while Vivasvān was a mortal. That he was a mortal is supported by strong evidence. In the Brahmodya contained in Rv. X. 17 he is referred to by the epithet "Mortal". Verse 2 of this hymn says "from mortal men they hid the immortal maidens...." The immortal maiden is Saranyu and consequently the Martya (although in the plural) must be Vivasvān. The dislike of Saranyu for her husband was due to his being of a lower birth. Further, we have in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa the legend of Aditi and her eight sons, Vivasvān being one of them.¹ The legend as translated by Bloomfield runs thus : "Aditi had eight sons. But those that are called gods, the Ādityas, were seven. For, the eighth, Mārtanda (by which name Vivasvān is known) she brought forth unformed. He was a mere heap, as high as broad—some say of the size of a man. Then the gods, the Ādityas,—saying 'What was born after us, let it not be in vain; come, let us fashion it.'—fashioned him as man is fashioned. Of him came these creatures." This legend shows that Vivasvān, though one of the Ādityas, was not like his seven brothers, but one of an inferior type. Bloomfield has in his article shown by various instances that Vivasvān was a mortal, and possessed distinctly human characteristics. We found it necessary to refer to this problem connected with the identity of Vivasvān, because of his connection with the Āśvins. His identity, because of his relationship as the father of the Āśvins, is bound to reflect on the identity of the latter also. Although we are not tempted to accept all the details in the legend literally, we cannot but mark that his status was in some way or other inferior to that of the gods. The association of the Āśvins with Vivasvān naturally shows them also to be of an inferior type. Whether the Āśvins were the sons of a real Saranyu and a real Vivasvān or not, the fact that their parentage is attributed to them cannot be without significance. It tends to point to the existence of a mixed character in the Āśvins—that they were partly divine and partly human.

1. Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, III. I. 3, 3.

Cf. Muir, O. S. Texts IV 14. The details of this legend are taken from M. Bloomfield's article on "Marriage of Saranyu" in J. A. O. S. Vol. XV, pp. 170-188.

Three essential points emerge from the above discussion. Firstly, it is not enough or wholly correct to interpret the Aśvins only in terms of a physical basis. Secondly, they possess some traits which are inferior to those of the gods. Lastly, there is evinced in them a characteristic which points to a mortal and human element in them. In the light of these we proceed to examine more definite points.

The fourth school whose opinion Yāska has quoted in Nirukta XII. 8 is that of the Aitihāsikas, who say that the Aśvins were two pious Kings. The same view is found echoed in Geldner's theory "that they were two succouring *Saints*". After having so far examined the prominent and distinguishing features of the Aśvins, we cannot say that this view of the Aitihāsikas is merely a result of their tendency to explain everything in terms of history. It is significant that even before the days of Yāska there existed a belief regarding the identity of the Aśvins that they had a historical and human origin. If, as the Aitihāsikas state, the Aśvins were two pious princes, and therefore human, how are we to account for the divine characteristics that are found in them? Commenting upon Geldner's theory that they were succouring saints, Hillebrandt says, "Geldner tempts us to the belief that Yāska had left only one instead of his four explanations and leaves it to our opinion as to how we should deal with the other accounts. We also miss the explanation why the chariot of these succouring saints used to bring the Uṣas who has chosen them".¹ It is his opinion, that "their definition is so completely carried out there (in the Rgveda) that it is a riddle how the Aitihāsikas could possess such a definite information concerning their once human origin."² He therefore throws a challenge at those who favour the theory of their human origin, to explain the evidence of Vedic ritual which shows that "where they (the Aśvins) receive an offering at a Soma sacrifice,.....the place assigned to them, does not show them to be the heroes at one time,"³ and also to account for their connection with the number 360 and also the number 3. In short, he demands an explanation as to how the human origin of the Aśvins is to be reconciled with their position and appearance as divine beings.

We do admit that the Aśvins generally appear in the Rgveda as divine beings. It is also true that a status equal to that of the other gods is assigned to them in the Vedic ritual. But all this does not make it impossible to believe that the Aśvins may have originally been human. It is possible that the originally human Aśvins may

1. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 57.

2. Ibid., p. 56.

3. Ibid., p. 56.

have been later on deified and so acquired all the divine attributes and a place in the ritual. We have noted the instance in the Rgveda of the Rhūs, the three divine figures, who were originally mortals and were deified later on. They were men who by their energy rose to heaven.¹ Through their wondrous arts they obtained their share in the sacrifice of gods.² Their great skill raised them to the godhead and placed them in heaven like falcons. That they were originally mortals is to be seen from the reference that "they were the children of Manu"³ and that "they, mortals as they were, gained immortality."⁴ This is sufficient to prove that the idea of deification of mortals was not foreign to the Vedic poets who were conscious of a process of deification of mortals. If it is possible that the originally mortal Rhūs acquired the status of gods, it may be more so that the originally human Āśvins were deified on account of their great healing powers and wonders. We have already once said that efficacy of medical aid always has a miraculous significance to a grateful mind. It is therefore possible to believe that the "*human Āśvins, physicians and surgeons, in whom their admiring patients saw natural and supernatural elements combined, came to be looked upon first as persons possessing supernatural powers, and then were deified in view of their benevolence and the efficacy of their aids.*" We may also state that according to some scholars, the deity Trita Aptya also betrays traits of later deification.⁵

Yāska in Nirukta XII quotes a verse which cannot be traced in the Rgveda or elsewhere. It runs thus :

वसीतिषु स्म चर्योऽसि॒ ती॑ पेत॑विष॑ ।
कवेदम॑विना॒ बुनम॑मि॒ देवो॑ अग्नच्छ्राम॒ ॥

" You wandered like two black clouds during the night. Oh Āśvins : When was it that you came to the gods ? " Yāska quotes this in support of his view that the Āśvins represent the first light that is visible after the close of the night. To us however, the second line is of significance. What is the idea underlying the question ? Can it be taken to enquire of the time when the Āśvins were deified ? It appears clear from the question that the Āśvins were at one time away from the gods and they went to their region later on. It therefore appears to us as suggestive of the deification of the originally human

1. Rv. I. 110, 5.

2. Rv. III. 60, 1.

3. Rv. III. 60, 3.

4. Rv. I. 110, 4.

5. Pischel, Gottinger Gelehrte Auszüge, p. 428.

Aśvins. There seems to be no other way in which the second line can be satisfactorily explained.

We have now arrived at a stage in our discussion when we can definitely state what appears to us as the most natural way of explaining the identity of the Aśvins with all their characteristics and features. The above discussion has made it clear that some prominent traits of the Aśvins make it necessary to trace them to a historical and not mythological origin. That they must have been men—skilled in the art of healing appears sufficiently clear. The next point in our contention is that the human Aśvins were deified later. It now remains for us to state what seems to us possibly to be the process of their deification.

We know that many of the Vedic deities are representatives of some natural phenomenon. It is therefore probable that after a person (or even an object) was deified, the natural tendency of the people in those times would be to identify the deified person or object with some natural phenomenon in the heaven in order to give him the common appearance of a deity and to complete the deification. In later times, we have the instance of the great devotee Dhruva who, after he was deified in view of his unparalleled devotion, came to be identified with the constellation that acquired his name. Similarly, we find the seven celebrated Rṣis of the Vedic age with Arundhati identified with the group of stars which is given their common epithet, the "Saptarṣi". So, when the Aśvins were deified, the natural course was to identify them with a natural phenomenon in the heaven. Such identification was largely the product of imagination and naturally depended on the point of view taken by the different poets. It is probable that different poets—in different times—conceived the Aśvins in terms of different phenomena. Some poets may have in their mind identified them with the morning twilight, and others may have found it necessary to look upon them as the Sun and the Moon; while to a third group they may have appeared as Indra with either Agni or the Sun. We must mark the distinction between the Aśvins and other deities like Agni, Uṣas or Vāyu. While the latter were natural phenomena who later were anthropomorphised—to whom human attributes were given—the process in the case of the Aśvins was the other way. They were human beings first, and later on were identified with natural phenomena. When the conception of a deity originates from the appearance of a happening in nature, its identification with that happening, and possibly with no other, remains permanent and is handed down from generation to generation in much the same form. But when the identification is

based on imagination, it is probable that more conceptions than one may arise. As to whether these different views regarding the physical basis of the Āśvins came into being during the same period or not, it is difficult to say. However, we shall try to trace what may be termed the different stages in their deification. We know it would be too bold to do so in the absence of adequate proof, but we only state it as a possibility. The characteristics of the Āśvins which show them to represent the morning twilight are most prominently found in the older *Mandalas* including the seventh. The most prominent trait of the Āśvins as men was their peaceful nature and benevolence with their healing arts. It is therefore possible that the morning light which is refreshing and pleasing with the morning dew—which is said to possess healing properties—may have been found to represent their nature and healing art, and that they were first conceived as the morning light by the older poets. When a person is deified, it is necessary to superimpose all divine attributes upon him. Every deity has a vehicle; so the Āśvins must have one. We have seen that the car of the Āśvins can be best explained in terms of the rays of the Sun. So it is the presence of this car in their deification that may have suggested the next step. The Āśvins with their car may have suggested their identification with the Sun, with his famous car, together with the Moon still representing their benign traits, and both of them representing the healing properties. Of all the gifts men ask of the gods, food is the commonest and the most essential. The Āśvins whose benevolence was universally praised may have been conceived as bestowers of food—and consequently of rain that produces it. As bestowers of rain, their consequent identification with Indra may be found possible. The warlike traits of the Āśvins which mostly appear in later hymns like those of first *Mandala*, appear to be the latest addition to their divine attributes and a consequence of their identification with Indra.

As regards the period during which the human Āśvins lived and the time when they first came to be deified, it seems to be the Indo-European period. We say this on the basis of parallel myths which exist in the Greek and Lettish mythologies and which reveal the presence of twin deities who were helpers and healers of men. It is true that there are no traces of such parallels in the Iranian mythology. If the Āśvins lived and were deified in the Indo-European times and are preserved in the Greek and other European mythologies, how is it that the Iranian mythology has nothing to say about them? For this we may suggest a possible explanation. It is possible that the Āśvins were deified before the Aryan race was divided and emigrated from their original home. While the European branch pre-

served the traces of these deified persons, it may somehow have slipped off the hands of the Indo-Iranians. This may account for the absence of a parallel to the Aśvins in the Iranian mythology. But what we find in the Vedic age and in the Rgveda may have been, what we may term a revival of the Aśvin cult. That the non-Aryans had a cult of their own and that it was a cult of devils, charms and witchcraft, is known from its preservation in the later compilation of the Atharva Veda. The Aryans viewed this cult with disgust and hatred. The 104th hymn of the seventh Mandala is a direct attack against the advocates of this cult—Yātudhānas as they were called. It is generally believed that this hymn, especially verses 7-16, are directed by Vasiṣṭha, the poet of the hymn, against Viśvāmitra who was suspected to have associated himself with the non-Aryan cult of sorcery and witchcraft. It is significant that Vasiṣṭha who figures here as the chief adversary of the non-Aryan cult is one of the most loyal devotees of the Aśvins. The seventh Mandala which belongs to him has as many as eight hymns dedicated to them. On the other hand, there is but one short hymn in the third Mandala which is said to have belonged to Viśvāmitra who is supposed to have patronised the methods of the non-Aryans. It is therefore probable that when the Aryan leaders like Vasiṣṭha and Atri (poet of the fifth Mandala) found themselves faced with the non-Aryan cult, and especially when one of them (Viśvāmitra) was suspected of being in league with it, they found it necessary to do something to put down that cult. So they brought back to light the cult of the Aśvins who were nearly forgotten, in a prominent manner. If we are to accept the view that some of the legends in which the Aśvins appear are imaginary or that the connection of the Aśvins in some of them is of a legendary character, this view may be explained by the fact that such imagination as exists in these legends may have been the outcome of the enthusiasm of the protagonists of the Aśvin cult to give as much prominence to it as possible. This appears to us as the possible explanation that may be given for the disappearance of the Aśvins from the Indo-Iranian period and their return in the mythology of the Indian Aryans—the Rgveda.

I have so far discussed the identity of the Aśvins. Now remains one more and the last point and that is their dual nature. It seems from general appearance as if the dual nature of the Aśvins may have been a later addition and that the Aśvin originally may have been only one. This hypothesis was suggested to me by the reference in Rv. I. 184, 4—"one of you is the prince of sacrifice; the other counts as heaven's auspicious offspring." J. Rendell Harris in his "Cult of the Heavenly Twins" reveals the idea that, "of the pairs of twins

one is often held to have a divine origin." The Āśvins are referred to as nānājātau and iheha jātau. These references to the separate birth of the Āśvins and the divine origin of one of them goes against the view of their twinship—which in its ordinary sense signifies that they were born of a common source. Secondly, in a few places the Āśvin is referred to in the singular. In Rv. 3, 6 one Nāsatya is mentioned. In Rv. IV 27, 4 he is referred to as "Indra's friend". All these facts leave one wondering whether the twinship of the Āśvins was an original fact or a later addition to their traits. In one of his articles on "Problematic Passages in the Rgveda,"¹ E. W. Hopkins has discussed the identity of Turvaśa and Yadu and has tried to show that Yadu is but a family name of Turvaśa and the reference Turvaśarin Yaduh² which appears to refer to two persons, Turvaśa and Yadu, is in reality Turvaśa the Yadu. This makes it possible to imagine that the originally one Āśvin later on appears as two persons. The circumstances that gave rise to the duality may be as follows : The human Āśvin, after he was deified, became a divine being. So he appeared, first, as a person who had a two-fold—human and divine—existence, and then his twofold existence developed the conception of the Āśvins as two beings—a human Āśvin and a divine Āśvin. Harris, as we have noted, says that one of the twins is of a divine origin. Naturally the other must be of a human origin. The reference to one of them in Rv. I. 181, 4 is "Divo anyah subhagah putra ühe"¹⁸ one of you counts (is conceived) as heaven's auspicious offspring". One of the physical images of the Āśvin, the morning twilight reveals two phases—a mixture of light and darkness ; similarly, the Āśvin also may be conceived as revealing two phases of his existence—the human and the divine. I mention this view as a possible one. However acceptable or otherwise it may appear, it certainly deserves consideration.

GANESH L. CHANDAVARKAR.

1. J. A. O. S. Vol. XV, pp. 252-283.

2. Rv. VIII. 4, 7-8.

THE INTER UNIVERSITY BOARD.*

The Inter University Board to which we have the privilege to belong as representatives of our universities has had only a brief period of existence. It came into existence ten years ago, the outcome of a Conference held in Simla between the representatives of various Universities called together for the discussion of problems common to the Universities. The functions of that board have been more than once defined. It aims at bringing the Universities in India into a sense of neighbourhood,

- (1) By affording a common platform on which their representatives can meet for the exchange of ideas and views on University problems.
- (2) By the extension of mutual courtesy, for example, by the mutual recognition of one another's degrees, by the extension of facilities to students who migrate from one University to another, by the encouragement of Inter-Provincial intercourse between the various Universities.
- (3) By an attempt, however remote, at a standardisation of courses of studies and syllabuses, so far as such standardisation is healthy and desirable.
- (4) By the dissemination of information of a general character of value to students all over the country, and of value also as preliminary to the more effective carrying out of the other functions already noted.

During the brief period of its existence the Inter University Board has organised two general conferences of the representatives of the member Universities for the discussion of problems in which all the Universities are concerned. It has been more or less successful in bringing about a mutual recognition of one another's degrees by the different Universities. It has been instrumental in overcoming to some extent the prejudices on the part of the older universities rooted in a well-founded or ill-founded belief in the intrinsic value of their own degrees. It has disseminated useful information for

* Text of address delivered as Chairman of the Inter University Board on February 26, 1935.

the guidance more especially of post-graduate students concerning the various Universities in the annual handbook that it has published. It has endeavoured to secure information from the various Universities with a view to the co-ordination of courses in branches of study like law and teaching, and with a view to securing a common nomenclature in the degrees conferred by the Universities. It has acted usefully as a means for collecting the opinions of the Universities on educational problems ranging from the methods of medical inspection of University Students to the use of the Vernaculars as media of instruction. It has sometimes acted as the mouthpiece of the Universities and as a body representing the corporate views of the Universities to bodies, inside the country, like the Government of India, and outside the country, like the Oxford and Cambridge Universities. And finally it has served to draw the Indian Universities out of their solitude and self-sufficiency into a realisation of their common life and their common needs. It has brought about a change in the attitude of the Universities, from one of aloofness and a self-righteous pride in their own superiority to one of helpfulness and appreciation of one another's difficulties and problems.

There have been critics of the Indian Universities who have seen in the work of the Universities a machinery for the mass production of standardised types of misfits and unemployables. There have been others who have found fault with the Universities for their over emphasis on purely literary academic subjects ; they have condemned the Universities for their lack of efficiency ; they have assumed that the main work of the Universities is to impart an education that will qualify the recipients for jobs of all kind. In an age of machinery we are naturally tempted to think in terms of efficiency. In a century when pragmatism rules in the philosophical world we cannot resist the tendency to judge the things of the spirit by their immediate and tangible results. In a world where price economy rules we often assign a monetary value to degrees and are apt to commercialise and mechanise research. Do we not therefore stand all the more in urgent need of reminding ourselves that the Universities in India are centers of culture and research, where the wind can blow where it listeth, and that what we can hope for is that they may become the means of conserving the spiritual values that are embedded in our flesh and bone but which may be lost to us under the grinding pressure of a civilisation that prides itself on its mechanical achievements and thinks in terms of material comforts ? For even in the limited sphere of scientific advance as much as in the larger sphere of human life it is true to urge that if we seek God and His kingdom

first, all other things will be added unto us. The disinterested pursuit of scientific truth whether in the domain of natural sciences or in the domain of the humanities, the readiness to follow wherever the pursuit of truth leads us, even to the total destruction of our most cherished prejudices and possessions, are the necessary preliminaries to the successful application of these truths to life enabling us to mould our environment to our human purposes, making human existence comfortable and happy.

In what way can the University in India help in the conservation of the spiritual values which have been inherited from the past and which are now being challenged with the advent of western culture?

Shall we suggest that the Universities in India can help

- (1) by emphasising the place of Sanskrit and Arabic literature and philosophy in the curricula for Arts degrees,
- (2) by the promotion of study and research in the sociological foundations of early Hindu culture and civilisation,
- (3) by the study and preservation of the folk songs, the remains of the old arts and crafts of the country which embody and carry over from generation to generation the spiritual heritage of the people of India,
- (4) by the encouragement and development of the spoken Indian languages as vehicles of group self-expression, as carriers of group ideas and ideals, as bed-rock foundations for the super-structure of group culture.

The disparagement of purely literary studies in the Indian Universities by enthusiasts in the cause of the sciences is not a new phenomenon. There are great spiritual values behind the ardent and earnest pursuit of scientific truth of which the scientist himself is often unaware. But we cannot help looking with somewhat of concern when we find the enthusiasm of the scientist urging him in serious terms on occasions like a Convocation Address to a recommendation that the old books should be burnt and to dismiss with a contemptuous reference the heritage of the past as useless lumber. The enthusiasm of the scientist is often reinforced by the anxiety of the practical man who regards the purely literary education as a mechanism for adding to the ranks of the unemployed and who believes that the scientifically trained intellect will bring immediate and tangible results in the Industrial life of the country. The pragmatist's outlook of an age of technocracy has affected this ancient land and has found expression in challenging the whole system of present day University education.

In the cultural life of the new India of the future the Universities will be called upon to play a large and increasing part. Will they respond to this call? Will the Inter-University Board have also a part to play? I look forward with hope to that future when the board will acquire a status which will make the Universities in India value its advice and guidance on questions of general educational policies. To-day its resolutions are either looked on as luke-warm, and non-committal expressions on questions which demand a more pronounced attitude, or on the other hand they are regarded as unwarranted encroachments on the autonomy of bodies of experts able to arrive at clearer decisions for themselves. But as the years pass on, prejudices and prepossessions will gradually disappear; impressions hastily formed will get corrected; and though a Round Table Conference of politicians inspired by considerations of expediency in an environment of opportunism may be barren of results of a far-reaching import, a Round Table Conference of Educational experts and dreamers meeting from year to year, even though it be for the transaction of routine business, may bear fruit far beyond the hopes entertained by its organisers, and in proportion as those who thus meet together do not aim at any tangible and definite objective, but meet for the sake of the opportunities, afforded to them for a co-operative search for educational methods and ideals, for a co-operative planning of educational institutions and for projecting a co-operative policy for the future.

In that educational planning of the new India of the future let us hope we shall not be lured into subordinating, even sacrificing, the study of the literary and liberal arts to the study of the pure and applied sciences. The liberation of the human spirit for the sportive and creative work that marks the advent of human civilisation presupposes the sense of security about the needs of the body which the sciences alone can adequately supply. The sciences as the handmaids of the arts have a permanent place in the field of education which no university can afford to overlook; scientific research in the narrower acceptance of the term has a place in the activity of university life not only as the foundation of life on which a good life can be built up, but also because such research can only blossom where the soil is saturated with the waters of the good life. To condemn and eradicate from University studies the pursuit of the humanities under the urge of a mechanistic culture that centers attention on the benefits of the applied sciences is to kill the urge of the spirit of scientific adventure itself. But it is not merely in the encouragement of literary and humanistic studies that the universities will find a true function. Much more will they find self-expression in the fostering of an

atmosphere of service and sacrifice, such as the ancient system of Indian Education aimed at, in the process of gathering together a group of like minded people bent on the co-operative search of truth and goodness and beauty.

If this country of ours is about to enter on a larger life in the hopes and promises that have been raised by the projects of political reform over which the country has been agitated for the last few years, the Universities may be called upon to play a vital part. They have to build up the vision of a greater India than that of the past in which the provinces instead of fostering mutual animosity and jealousies will work together and co-operate in the building up of a social environment that would foster the purposes of human life. If a policy of discrimination between province and province in the purely economic field is fatal to the life of a greater India, it would be still more fatal in the cultural atmosphere of the Universities where the things that belong to the spirit can grow only by being shared. The Inter University Board representing as it does the corporate opinion of the Universities in India has realised long ago the need for building up traditions of mutual service and co-operation between the constituent parts which threaten to fall apart under the guise of a federation. Shall we hope that whatever happens, the Universities will continue linked together in the domain of culture building up the house of God in the midst of the conflict and confusion created by intra provincial jealousies and by the forces of economic and political separatism?

P. A. WADIA.

THE ETHICS OF TYRANNY

"For I say that Justice is nothing else but the interest of the stronger" says Thrasymachus, the sophist, in the first book of Plato's Republic. In this, as we shall see, he was but anticipating Nietzsche by two thousand two hundred years. What is the nature of Right, of the rights of the individual? Are we to agree with the sophists and Nietzsche that morality is what the stronger power in the state enforces in accordance with what it regards as its own interests? If so Might is Right, and following Spinoza we must identify *ens* with *potentia*, although we need not, with Spinoza, inconsistently limit the *potentia* of the individual by the national *imperium* imposed by the state. "Thrasymachus" says Dr. Ernest Barker,¹ "holds that right is nothing more than the enactment of might wherever might may reside in any given state, and whatever its enactments may be. If the weak make laws in their interest, or in accordance with their conception of their interest, those laws, and the right they establish, are just and right so long as the weak can enforce them, and they cease to be right so soon as they cannot be so enforced."

Callicles in the Gorgias is more subtle, more idealistic, less nihilistic, less empirical. Although all law is but the product of social contracts fashioned by the weak to defraud the strong of the just right of their might, there is a natural Right which is always right : contrast this with Thrasymachus' belief that there is no Right at all, but only the (empirical) "interest of the stronger." However, Callicles also has a good deal in common with Nietzsche : Law institutes a "Slave morality"—"it is not men who submit to injustice but slaves for whom it is better to die than to live : when they suffer injustice and are trampled in the mud they are unable to fend for themselves or for those whom they care for. But I think those who enact the laws are the weak and the majority. Therefore it is with reference to themselves and in their own interests that they both enact the laws and assign praise and blame. Fearing that the strong and those who can get more may get more than themselves, they say that to acquire more than the rest is to act unjustly... But I think that Nature itself shows that it is just for the better to have more than the worse and the stronger more than the weaker". Let it not be thought

1. Plato and his predecessors, p. 72, and see also *Ibidem* pp. 159 to 166 to which I owe much.

however that Callicles is so gross as to equate strength with mere brute force, as Thrasymachus doubtless does : "By the strong I mean.... those who are discerning in the conduct of the State's affairs,... and not merely discerning but also strong-willed and competent to accomplish what they think and not to flag through weakness of spirit." Here then is a strength of character, of the whole personality comparable to Machiavelli's *situ* and Nietzsche's "will to power". Callicles then may be called the father of the Superman, for he would have agreed with Nietzsche that "the criterion of truth lies in the enhancement of the feeling of power". In support of his theory Callicles appeals to the other creatures, that is to say Huxley's "tiger rights," though in so far as man has discernment, intellect, character, the strong man is different from the strong brute. Of course the rule of the strong man is a tyranny, a form of government that interested the Greeks much, more especially the fourth century Athenians. Thus we have Euripides in the *Herakles* picturing the strong man who makes his strength the canon of Justice, but who is only safe so far as that strength is devoted to the service of mankind.

The truth is that the Greeks of the fourth century were growing a little tired of the mediocrity and sentimentality of democracy and its resultant inefficiency in the same way that Italy and Germany have grown tired of it in our own day. In fact the close of the fifth century had seen the Athenian Empire as a very impressive tyranny ; this Thucydides and Euripides, tainted perhaps a little by Macedonian influence, are continually emphasizing. For example in the speech of the Athenian ambassadors to the Spartans before the Peloponnesian war we read : "Thus we have not done anything wonderful or out of the ordinary if we have received the power that was given us, and that too for fear lest we should let go, being conquered by the three great powers, honour, fear and utility, nor again are we the first to originate such a policy, but it always was an established thing that the inferior should be kept under control by the more powerful." The Melian dialogue in book V is even more terrible in its baldness and more notorious : say the Athenian envoys to the people of the little island of Melos : "you know as well as we do that right in a worldly sense is a question only as between equals in power, while those who are superior do what they can and the weak have to agree to it." We shall have to return to Athens, and Plato's Gorgias, when we come to consider modern dictatorships as in Russia, Germany and Italy. Let us turn now to some consideration of tyranny as it appeared to the Greeks.

Tyranny to the Greeks meant the unconstitutional rule of a single man : it must not be confused with Oriental despotism. Many tyrants

entirely justified their existence : they were not merely self-indulging autocrats. In nearly every case tyrants emerged in Greek states at the same stage of political development, and with one notable exception, Sicyon, tyranny was short-lived. The two chief causes were political unrest and economic unrest : tyranny grew either out of the feeling of exclusion engendered by the oligarchy which succeeded the more primitive aristocracy, or out of the disaffection of a people in debt to a ruling caste. The tyrant usually kept the public favour by being a patron of art, letters and public works, and by encouraging public 'Games' such as those at Corinth. They usually also indulged in considerable military and diplomatic activity ; yet they were felt to be inconsistent with Greek political sentiment, since they were the antithesis of the much vaunted Greek freedom. Greek politics differed from those of our own time inasmuch as the Greek political unit was a city state, in which every free citizen took his share of Government : to rule and to be ruled in turn is the prime axiom of Greek democracy. We however enjoy the privileges of representative government in which only a very small proportion of the voters ever take their share in governing. Consequently, whereas with the Greeks the tyrant deprived all the citizens of their opportunity of governing, with us a tyrant would deprive only a few, since the majority are always governed by others, though admittedly as a rule by those of their own choosing.

Plato and Aristotle both have much to say about the tyrant in the Greek sense. In parenthesis let it be said that the Athenian Empire itself, though a democracy, was also a tyranny, but as we have seen, in another sense : this we must consider later. Plato and Aristotle were not concerned with representative or party government, a system apparently workable only by the British, and in a modified form by France and the U. S. A. As H. W. C. Davis says in his introduction to Jowett's translation of Aristotle's *Politics* : "While there could be no greater mistake than to apply his criticisms of democracies and aristocracies to modern governments which go by the same names, without stopping to enquire how far the names have changed their meanings, it is on the other hand often apparent that these criticisms, where the necessary qualifications have been made, are as true of the present as they were of Greece." This is true of Plato also.

Plato's ideal state is described in the *Republic*, whose all too frequently forgotten sub-title is "concerning Justice". This great 'dialogue' is "an attempt at a complete philosophy of man" (Barker), for as well as some treatment of the metaphysical aspect of politics there is a complete educational system put forward, without which

Plato's ideal communist state would be impossible, since ignorance is for him the only human frailty to which all our shortcomings are attributable. For, to use Marxian language, Plato has his own ideology just as to-day communism and Fascism and Nazism have theirs. A new system of ideas, a new way of thinking is involved, in which the young, and indeed all the citizens, have to be brought up and educated. In Russia, Italy and Germany this is being effected by propaganda, by posters, by broadcasting, by the press : Plato had to be content with his educational system to secure the same result. His Philosopher-Kings were the guardians of the basic principles of the state, "servants of a fundamental and unchanging Social order" in much the same way as Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini are the guardians of Nazi and Fascist philosophical principles.

Plato condemns tyranny, and yet his ideal state is somewhat tyrannical. At Syracuse a chance offered of putting the *Republic* into practice : the experiment was a failure, for the young tyrant did not become the philosopher-King, and "until philosophers are Kings, or the Kings and princes of this world have the power and spirit of philosophy, cities will never rest from their evils". The result of his failure is seen in the posthumous "*Laws*", in which the "nocturnal council" was to be as tyrannical as the Spanish Inquisition. To return to the *Republic*, Plato's ideal was one, united state, whose economic stability, size, code of justice and educational system were permanently safeguarded by rulers who were "professionals" and devoid of private interest. Thus Plato hoped to avoid the amateurishness and ignorance and inefficiency which is the especial curse of social democracy. To quote again from Dr. Barker : "In Athens especially democracy seemed only to mean the right divine of the ignorant to govern wrong. . . . Besides the inefficiency which it entailed, and the parade of false equality which it involved, such a system was to Plato unjust. Justice meant, in his eyes, that a man should do his work in the station of life to which he was called by his capacities. Everything has its function. . . . a man who attempts to govern his fellows when at best he is only fit to be a tolerable craftsman, is a man not only mistaken but also unjust, doubly indeed unjust, for not only does he not do his own proper work, but he shoves the better man aside." Further as the guardians of the state would be disinterested philosophers there would be no room for parties, factions and dissensions, but one, united commonwealth with no pursuit of private gain on the part of the rulers, as was only too common in contemporary democracies and oligarchies. Hence came the need for "a strong and impartial authority, which should mean not the rule of the rich over the poor, or of the poor over the rich". Both in Italy and in Germany

totalitarian states have arisen to avoid just these two great shortcomings of democracy, amateurish inefficiency and the disunity engendered by the petty wrangles of party Government. Plato would have agreed with both Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini in condemning that odd factor of our own constitution, "His Majesty's opposition", their common aims are "Specialisation" and "Unification". Yet Plato knew and condemned the tyranny of which we have already written, the unconstitutional rule of one man, for he had seen it at Syracuse. Brute self-assertion stands eternally condemned, for it is based not on reason but on the appetite, and it leads to loneliness, because of its anti-social injustice.

"In justice is all virtue found in sum" quotes Aristotle in the *Ethica*. We must now consider his view of what is just and right in politics. He is completely the bourgeois in his final conclusion that for the Greek states of his time government by the solid virtue of the respectable middle class is best, though he admits that ideally the rule of a "god among men" would be better if practicable, or alternatively an aristocracy of virtue and intellect. One thing of importance in the *Politics* is the criticism of Plato's *Republic*: speaking of Plato's premise that the greater the unity of the state the better, he says: "Is it not obvious that a state may at length attain such a degree of unity as to be no longer a state? Since the nature of a state is to be a plurality....so that we ought not to attain this greatest unity even if we could, for it would be the destruction of the state. Again, a state is not made up of so many men only, but of different kinds of men: for similars do not constitute a state". And again later¹: "The error of Socrates must be the false notion of unity from which he starts. The state, as I was saying, is a plurality which should be united and made into a community by education."

Aristotle in the fifth book of the *Politics* has much to say about tyranny, but what he says about democracy in Book six is of more importance for our present purpose: "The basis of a democratic state is liberty....One principle of liberty is for all to rule and to be ruled in turn...., whence it follows that the majority must be supreme, and that whatever the majority approve must be the end and just. Every citizen, it is said, must have equality, and therefore in a democracy the poor have more power than the rich, because there are more of them, and the will of the majority is supreme. This then is one note of liberty....Another is that a man should live as he likes." Thus we see that Aristotle is completely orthodox in his political views, and when compared with Plato even reactionary.

1. *Ibid.* II. 5, 13.

We must pass on hurriedly. Machiavelli's "*Prince*" is a book to be read by the modern student of Politics. To him and to Hobbes we owe the secularisation of political thought. Both were undoubtedly, and undoubting extremists. "*The Prince*" is an extremely readable essay in Tyranny of the self-interested type. Hobbes' theory of the commonwealth "is based on the premiss that in order to preserve life, it is necessary to organise a Commonwealth by committing the Sovereign power to an individual or to an assembly. The Sovereign once installed cannot be dethroned by his subjects."¹ Further in return for their submission the Sovereign contracts to secure the safety and fullest development of life for the subjects. The sovereign follows the laws of nature, and his rights are derived from the will of the people who submit to authority when they make the contract. Hobbes has been called the father of Absolutism, and rightly so. The counter attack against him was launched by Rousseau, whose new weapon instead of being a doctrine of natural law is a doctrine of natural rights, and we now come to the great problem of our own time the extent of the rights of the individual within the state.

Given Plato's conception of a thoroughly collectivised and organised state, whose rulers are strong, educated and disinterested, possessed of that virtue or strength of character which we saw in Machiavelli and Nietzsche, surely their absolute authority is preferable to the amateurishness of democracy in the modern sense, with its partisanship, inefficiency and petty disunities. Both Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini are described as "dictators" by English people but they call themselves 'leaders'—*führer*, *duce*, and leaders they are, not merely of the predominant faction, the only party legally allowed to exist, but also of their reunified states. With the Nazis unity is all important, one state not a federation of republics, one religion, an ideal this as yet, one public will, one leader, one united *Deutschland*. In this we can see the influence of Hegel. Of course party government makes it difficult to compare modern political tendencies with those of Plato's and Aristotle's time, yet one feels that the Nazi political creed is not un-Platonic. There is the predominant faction striving to educate the nation into unity : there also is the leader, and the leaders of subordinate units of the party, striving to be the worthy guardians of the ideals of the party which are the ideals also of the united state. Minorities are inconvenient and must be suppressed in the interests of the common good, since the state is the all, and like an all-pervading ether must enter in and control every sphere of life. Here is democracy, oligarchy, tyranny all in one, and the

1. Lutoslavski in J. P. S., Vol. V, p. 184.

same is true of Italy. Of course there is injustice if we believe that men have a right to think for themselves, if we believe in religion and its sanctions ; but as man derives benefits from his citizenship, so he owes responsibilities towards the State. Self-interested tyranny is clearly wrong—even Herr Hitler had to purge his leaders in June 1934, but an altruistic tyranny in which the majority govern with absolute power in the interests of the whole is not so clearly wrong when it denies certain anti-social rights to a dissenting minority. Let the strong rule, since it is Nature's law that they should ; let them be professional rulers, ruling according to established principles based on Nature's law ; let them however rule in the interests of the commonwealth, and it is argued that it matters not how tyrannical their rule may seem to a minority. Note in passing that whereas the Greek thought only of making himself as good as possible, since Plato men have striven to improve others. To be improved may not be to our liking, but to refuse to be improved in the interests of the state is anti-Social, for all such the concentration camp provides a brutal but efficient corrective, though doubtless the concentration camp might be improved into an educational establishment for the proper appreciation of the new ideology, which is, in Hobbes' sense, to preserve the life of the state. Now in all this the personal freedom required to enable a man to be a good carpenter or a good schoolmaster is not denied, only there are certain restraints in the interest of the whole. This is Platonic, and it is also Fascist and Nazi theory. The tyranny is not the tyranny of one man but of an ideology : the ideology of the dominant faction, whose duty it is to impregnate the whole population with its doctrines.

The leaders in such states are demagogues such as Plato describes in the *Gorgias*. Demagogue means leader of the people, and we have to remember that Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini are only leaders, and not Nazism and Fascism. Behind them is the party. Polus in the *Gorgias* would strongly have approved of their oratorical powers ; and yet Plato's solution is right, and the *Gorgias* does but lead on to the philosopher king of the *Republic*. Whether we disapprove of these modern tyrannies or no, it is our duty to admit their sincerity and to strive to appreciate the way in which they are attempting to correct the inadequacies of the political system that preceded them.

R. F.

THE RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES OF ENGLISH EMPIRICISM.

English Empiricism is always associated with the names of Locke, Berkeley and Hume. If we are to judge its meaning, we must attend to the philosophies of these thinkers. If we cursorily survey modern philosophy, we are led to believe that they did not, by themselves, represent a great movement, but were a prelude to great speculation in subsequent times. We think that Empiricism was in essence nothing else but an assertion of the point of view that, since we could know only sensations, the world was a series of sensations and that there was nothing beyond them, and that if we were to explain anything, we must do so within the five walls of the senses. Empiricism, thus interpreted, leaves us with nothing in our hands. If the world is a series of sensations, then surely the best aspects of our life seem to be wiped out and we are left in a state of darkness—probably in the world of Thomas Hardy where a blind mechanical Destiny has her sway.

But English Empiricism was certainly not a philosophy of pessimists. It was thought out and shaped by men who were, to use a modern term, "meliorists,"—who were firm believers in ideals and were prepared to carry them out in all the spheres of life. Locke was a practical man of affairs, Berkeley an active member of the Church, and Hume a political and moral reformer. They believed in progress and in ideals towards which man could progress; and if their lives presented this idealism in bold relief, it is impossible to think that they should have asserted that the world was a mere series of sensations. On the contrary, we are led to believe that such a point of view was never held by any one of them. There was always present in their philosophies the belief that besides sensations, there were other ideals and truths, but this belief has not been well brought out by interpreters. It has been said to be inconsistent with the main position of Empiricism. But if it was there in the philosophy of the Empiricists, and if they were "meliorists", it is difficult to see how it could be so outside their position as to be inconsistent with it. It is possible to suggest that instead of being an inconsistency, it formed the innermost layer of their theories and served as an important motive in the assertion of their points of view.

This consideration is brought home to us if we bear in mind that Empiricism arose out of a reaction of the mind against scholastic

religion and that hence it had primarily to deal with the validity of religion rather than with anything else. Scholasticism in its zeal to preserve its own essence, exalted reason apart from experience. But the mind of the eighteenth century, having gazed at geographical and scientific discoveries, rebelled against the theological system of reason which allowed no room for new facts. Empiricism was one emphatic form of this rebellion. It might have said with Robert Bridges,

" . . . I think not of reason, as men thought of Adam
created full-grown, perfect in the image of God".

without experience, reason is barren and useless ; for it is in experience, in the world of sense, that reason seeks its expression. It is "in such deep insolvency to sense". It was this truth which Empiricism emphasized and from which its very name was derived. If, as scholastic theology suggested, truth was born out of reason apart from sense, and such reason-born truth was the sole reality, then the sense-world was purely illusory and reason alone was real. It was to protest against this suggestion that the Empiricists sought to trace the origin of experience and show that sensation had from the very birth of man, an important place in his life.

But the attempt to bring sensation into prominence was not motivated merely by a zest for psychological inquiry. The aim behind it was to make a protest against scholastic theology and its exaltation of reason and to substitute for it true religion. The beginning could only be made by showing the necessary part which sensation played in our experience. The problem before Empiricism was not, therefore, merely to inquire into the nature of knowledge, but by means of an investigation into knowledge, to understand the real meaning of religion as against scholastic theology. To interpret the thought of the Empiricists as a solution of this problem, is necessarily to view its elements in interconnection with one another and it can only be done if we see the real motives behind both the destructive and constructive parts of their philosophies and obtain a regular chain of thought with the help of suggestions between the lines. By adopting this method, we shall reject the traditional way of looking at the Empiricists separately, and hence also of labelling them as subjective idealists, sceptics and sensationalists. To label them thus is to interpret their thought partially and to miss its very significance which lies in its attempt to free the philosophic mind from scholastic dogma and to outline a philosophy of religion.

We shall first briefly indicate the various steps that go to form a philosophy of religion and then show that Empiricism had in one form or another, taken all these steps. To begin with, the mind

must have faith in the existence of a supreme principle or God. With this faith taken for granted, the first step is to dispel the false notions of religion. It is to criticise the various religious "idols of the theatre" which are created by the mind by taking ideas in abstraction from experience and investing them with reality, and as a consequence to uproot this habit of the mind, root and branch, and show the false realities it creates. Such a scepticism about traditional ideas is the beginning of true religion ; and it was this scepticism which Tennyson had in mind when he said that "there is more truth in honest doubt than in all the creeds". Once we have utilised the instrument of doubt, the next step is to establish the true meaning of the Godhead by searching for it in the very foundation of our experience. The mind then feels a sense of freedom which religious orthodoxy entirely strangles on the altar of dogma. It is here that all idealism is born and by taking experience as the province of inquiry, we realise that God is the supreme purposive principle that moulds our perception of the world and its orderliness. We come to believe that He is the supreme value whose existence is the sole support of our lives. But a philosophy of religion is not complete without taking the third step of realising the shortcomings of knowledge. For, after all, the intimacy with which a religious soul feels the presence of his Deity escapes all knowledge. To understand the meaning of His existence by reason alone is one thing, but to know Him intimately is another. The intuitional experience of the Spirit no reasoning can create for us. A philosophy of religion must therefore recognise the distinction between our intuition of the Deity and our knowledge of Him and must end with the higher mysticism that is arrived at after all great philosophical speculation.

We can now trace the various stages of a philosophy of religion in Empiricism. First of all, if we read the writings of the Empiricists carefully, we shall find that their thought revealed a faith and trust in the existence of a supreme Maker or Deity.

"A motion and a Spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought
And rolls through all things".

With the aim of protesting against scholastic theology on the one hand, and with faith in the existence of a Deity on the other, the first step they necessarily took was to criticise all false religious notions. Such a process formed a critical line of reasoning from Locke, Berkeley to Hume. If all experience contained sensation, as a necessary element, then Locke argued that there were no ideas entirely innate in the sense of being separate and abstracted from sense perception. To assert an innate idea was to emphasise the presence of an

abstraction, an "idol" without reality. Locke's attack against innate ideas was thus the same in spirit and thought as that of Berkeley against abstract ones. If matter was an idea separate from sense perception, it must be as much innate as abstract. But since all reality must be clothed in the apparel of sense, an abstraction had no reality. Berkeley therefore concluded that there was nothing like an abstract or brute matter, just as Locke had concluded that there was nothing like an abstract mind or reason. Hume went a step further and contended that therefore there could also be no supreme abstract substance or Godhead. In their attack against innate or abstract ideas, the Empiricists found a double-edged instrument, by which they overthrew the false religious notions of scholastic theology, and also destroyed the growing tendency of scientific materialism. It is apparent thus that the motive behind the line of critical argument of Empiricism was not to destroy knowledge but to save religion and hence the argument may well be interpreted as an important step towards the construction of a philosophy of religion.

It was for Berkeley individually to take the second step of establishing the meaning of the Godhead within experience itself; and he immediately took it in his famous statement, "all the choir of heaven and furniture of the earth, in a word all those bodies which compose the mighty frame of the world have not any subsistence without a mind . . . they must either have no existence at all, or else subsist in the mind of some Eternal Spirit; it being perfectly unintelligible, and involving all the absurdity of abstraction, to attribute to any single part of them an existence independent of a spirit". Having proved that there was nothing like abstract matter, Berkeley thus asserted that reality must be always ideal, whether it is known by individual minds or not. He argued that if things were ideas and yet things were objective and existed even though they were not known by our mind, they must necessarily be objective ideas,—ideas of a mind which is objective and is beyond individual minds. Thus through the supreme Mind or Spirit, we perceived the world of nature as objectively presented to us, and hence in his own experience man found himself face to face with God. But the Godhead was not in any sense a presentation, or an abstract idea. It was according to Berkeley the supreme categorical principle, objective and universal, which was the very ground of our experience. With such a line of argument, Empiricism substituted the meaning of true religion in place of the dogma of scholastic theology and the shibboleths of materialism.

Though Empiricism believed in the criticism of false religious notions and in the development of a true concept of the Godhead by

means of reasoning, it understood that reason had its own limitations in matters of practical realisation. No philosophy of religion is complete without this realisation. A confession of this fact was made by the Empiricists. Religion is at bottom a matter of practical experience of the Godhead ; and both Berkeley and Hume, the one in his controversy against the Deists and the other in his dialogues concerning theology suggested that no amount of reasoning could make us know the Deity as intimately as religion requires we should. It is the intuitive experience of Him that is basis of all religious emotions. The Empiricists confessed that though such an intuition could not be entirely apart from reason, it certainly went beyond it. It is this truth which Empiricism pointed out and by the recognition of which it may be said to have completed its philosophy of religion.

Such an interpretation of Empiricism changes the whole traditional picture of it. It was not a philosophy of pessimism which saw the world as only a series of sensations ruled by a blind mechanical Destiny. It consisted of a large philosophical movement of thought which outlined for us the true meaning of religion and of the supreme perfection whose glimpses we have in the ordered world of facts. It had to face the dogma of scholastic theology and hence had to be ruthless in its criticism of traditional ideas, but behind its criticism there was a regular range of constructive speculation. It was the vision of both the destructive and the constructive elements of empiricism which awoke Kant from "his dogmatic slumber" and which may once again awake some great mind in the realm of philosophy.

H. D. SETHNA.

Reviews.

Teaching : Special Primary School Number. (Oxford University Press), March, 1935.

'Teaching' is a 'quarterly technical Journal for Teachers' published by the Oxford University Press. The March (1935) number of this quarterly is issued as Special Primary School Number. This number contains seven articles on Primary Education in India. In the first and leading article Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, describes the 'Present State of Primary Education.' While reviewing the expansion of Primary Education the writer says "The pace of expansion has slackened, and the annual increase in the number of pupils (boys and girls) in all institutions declined from 6,17,726 in 1927-8 to 86,995 in 1932-3. The 'wastage' figures reveal the sad fact that, on an average in British India, out of every 100 pupils enrolled in Class I only 21 reach Class IV (when literacy should be attained) three years later; and only 13 in the following year reach Class V. In view of these distressing figures, there can be little wonder that in many Provinces the increase in literacy has become almost negligible. The percentage of trained teachers in Primary Schools (and many even of these have very limited qualifications) is only 51.9 and shows little signs of rapid improvement." The main cause of this disappointing set-back is of course the financial depression but the writer admits that here "the difficult task of retrenchment has been carried out very clumsily and in a haphazard manner. In a spirit almost of panic, wholesale reductions have been made by rule-of-thumb methods and by percentage reductions, with the result that good and bad alike have been thrown indiscriminately into the abyss. A well-directed policy of retrenchment would have resulted in the cutting away of dead wood in the form of ineffective expenditure, which has hitherto obstructed salutary and economical development."

Another cause of this set-back is in the opinion of the Educational Commissioner "the lack of effective guidance and control by Provincial Governments over the educational activities of local bodies in the domain of Primary education."

A third cause which is a logical corollary of the transfer of control to the local bodies is the reduction in quantity and deterioration of quality of the Inspectorate.

The writer then deals with the training of teachers and the principle of 'compulsion'. The three requisites for the introduction of 'compulsion' are as he says "the extension and improvement of Vernacular Middle Schools, the provision of up-to-date training institutions, and a wise distribution of schools."

The picture drawn by the writer with the help of facts and figures is gloomy enough. To the question 'well what of the future?' the writer has only to say "Earnest thought is being devoted to the problems of Primary education; and beneficial results are attending this anxious deliberation."

This answer must, we believe, not have satisfied the writer and can satisfy none. But what other answer can there be? We have the same sad tale everywhere. We see the symptoms of the disease, we diagnose it correctly, we try to remedy it but we do not succeed. What is true of Primary Education is equally true of the Secondary and the University education.

In the second article Mr. J. M. Sen, Special Officer for Primary Education, Bengal, traces the History of Primary Education in India.

Mr. Sen gives a number of figures and graphs and concludes "This analysis reveals the extremely ineffective system of Primary education in most of the Provinces in India."

Mr. K. D. Ghose of the David Hare Training College, Calcutta, next deals with 'Wastage in Primary schools; its possible remedies'. This is a problem of national importance but does not seem so far to be regarded as such. The 'wastage' is appalling as the following table will clearly show.

Diminution in Enrolment from Class to Class at the Primary Stage (1922-27)

1922-3, Class I	..	..	..	..	..	3,986,924
1923-4, Class II	..	..	..	..	..	1,379,986
1924-5, Class III	..	..	..	..	..	984,358
1925-6, Class IV	..	..	..	..	..	710,895
1926-7, Class V	..	..	..	..	..	427,053

Mr. Ghose gives some more recent statistics per Province and concludes "Therefore on an average out of every 100 pupils enrolled in Class I more than 80 per cent. fail to reach Class IV, where literacy is supposed to be achieved, three years later. One wonders whether we are not a spend-thrift nation that squanders millions on education without any adequate thought of corresponding returns."

This serious diminution is due to 'stagnation' and 'wastage' and the writer says "What with bad equipment, what with a lack of an

adequate number of teachers, whether trained or untrained, and what with an unpleasant environment and hours too long for young children, the Primary school fails to attract the pupil regularly to school. This is a fundamental cause of the diseases of wastage and stagnation, and ought to be seriously considered by educational authorities, both local and central."

"Even if improvements are effected in all these matters," and it is a huge task—the writer says "Unless attempts were made on a nation-wide scale to encourage night schools, lantern lectures, demonstrations, village libraries and so forth, which might benefit children as well as adults, the literacy figures would remain as poor as they are to-day and we should go down to history as a people who had been seized with a squander-mania, but who did not know why they were spending their money."

The last four articles are "Principles of education and Class teaching" by H. Dippie, Special Officer for Primary and Girls' Education, Bihar and Orissa; "Handicaps of Village Primary Pupils" by J. C. Koenig, of the American Evangelical Mission, Bisrampur; "Teaching of the Mother-Tongue" by Principal Bhattacharya and "Teaching of Nature Study," by P. S. Darling of the Wesley Mission Girls' Schools, Madras.

The Oxford University Press are to be congratulated on producing this "Special Primary School Number" and on having succeeded in securing articles on almost all the aspects of Primary Education by "Masters" if we may use that term.

Every one of the articles is interesting and instructive ; the first three we have tried to summarise ; the last four we have not, as we were afraid our review had already been too lengthy. We cannot but highly commend this "Number" and may suggest that the Publishers should in the near future produce a Special Secondary School Number. We hope that here at least the Bombay Presidency may find some contributors.

M. S. G.

The Present State of Gujarati Literature : Being Thakkar Vasonji Madhavji Lectures. By DIVAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B., J.P., sometime Officiating Judge, High Court, Bombay ; (Retired) Chief Judge, Presidency Court of Small Causes, Bombay ; Fellow and Syndic, University of

Bombay : Published by the University of Bombay, 1934 ;
 Price Rs. 0-12-0 ; pp. 114 + xvi.

This little publication comprises five lectures delivered in the Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures Series, by Divan Bahadur Krishnalal Jhaveri, whose ripe scholarship and interest in Gujarati literature are well-known to every student of the Gujarati language. His "Milestones" and "Further Milestones" in Gujarati literature have become indispensable manuals for a study of the history of the Gujarati literature. Already the two volumes earned the Divan Bahadur the enviable reputation of being the first Gujarati scholar who prepared fine little volumes informing the English reading public of the chief landmarks in the history of Gujarati literature. The volume under review is an excellent little addition to the Divan Bahadur's already existing contribution. The University of Bombay deserves to be congratulated for having invited Divan Bahadur Jhaveri for the Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures, for the year 1934, and we are even tempted to add that Mr. Kanaialal Munshi deserves to be greeted in having been instrumental in securing to the University the donation from which these annual lectures are arranged.

Divan Bahadur's lectures fall under the following heads :—

- " 1. General Survey of Modern Gujarati Literature.
- 2. The Literature of Criticism and Review.
- 3. Research in Old Literature.
- 4. Research in History of Gujarat.
- 5. Miscellaneous (in Gujarati called એચ્ શાન્દની ખોચકો)
 - (a) Humour and Satire.
 - (b) Influence of Persian on Gujarati Literature.
 - (c) Influence of Urdu on Gujarati Literature.
 - (d) Account of Kathiawad as found in Persian Histories : specially કાર્યાલૈ સુરાત.
 - (e) Account of Cambay, Surat, Ahmedabad, etc., found in Histories, Persian and Non-Persian."

Divan Bahadur did well in giving his lectures in English, though he had an option to deliver them in Gujarati. Thus, in book form, they can be read with pleasure and profit by students of the other modern Indian languages, nay even by a class of readers outside India, who may be inquisitive about modern literatures. It is a pity there is no scheme of lectures about the history or growth or present state of the other modern Indian languages under the auspices of the Bombay University. Such lectures are very instructive and are to be greatly welcomed.

Divan Bahadur considers modern Gujarati to be a language about two hundred years old. The earliest beginnings he traces about the 10th century A.D., when *Aparkravîśa* was the language used. At this time very little prose was written ; the only literature which existed was in poetry. The beginnings of prose are to be seen for the first time in Narmadashankar. Attempts to develop prose were to be met with in the school-books first published by the East India Company in 1826 A.D., but the then prose was very crude.

Since then a century has passed. And Divan Bahadur raises the question, 'What is the present state of our literature ?' Yeomen services were rendered by Narmadashankar who wrote in simple Gujarati prose, and wrote preferably in prose, though he liked to be called *Kavi*. The simple prose of Narmadashankar, Mahipatram, and Durgaram Mehtaji, was followed by a period of resort to Sanskritised Gujarati. Writers like Govardhanram Tripathi and Manilal Dwivedi wrote in highly Sanskritised Gujarati. As a result, the utter despair of those who did not know Sanskrit drove them to the other extreme : the Parsis and the Muslims put a stop to the study of Gujarati for their children ; and their authors wrote a language which read like an inferior dialect of Gujarati. Divan Bahadur Jhaveri laments this resort to the downward path. At present, among the Gujarati speaking public there are, (1) the Hindu writers who are disposed to write in a Sanskritised style, (2) the Parsis who are disposed to write in a deteriorated anglicized style, and (3) the Muslim writers who write prose that has neither come under the influence of Persian, nor of English literature and who write in a simple indigenous style.

"Poetry is the essence of literature," and no wonder the galaxy of old Gujarati writers, ending with Dayaram were all worshippers at the muse of poetry. Verse was the only form of literature, and Religion and Devotion were the only subject-matter of literature. A change began with Narmadashankar and Dalpatram ; but neither left the old track abruptly. That was done by Mr. N. B. Divatia, whose poems reveal close observation of nature and of the softer emotions of the human heart. To-day, the old devotional poetry, and the *Akhyâna* form and stories of olden days are there in literature to be admired and studied ; but the poetry which is being actively developed and imitated is that which is full of emotions and finer sentiments and which is coloured by subjectivity instead of objectivity. The new phase, at first alien to our literature, has now become naturalised.

Divan Bahadur then refers to the ગર્વા, ગરા, and રાહ �form of literature, which is not found in other Indian languages. It would have

been desirable if Divan Bahadur had dwelt at greater length on this form, for it is a form which keeps literature a living force in Gujarat in every home, in every street, and in every village. Due compliments are rightly paid to the services of Kavi Nanalal in the composition of *Rāsa* poems. Divan Bahadur's remarks will be judged as judicious and yet fully appreciative, when he says : " There are several other writers who have done commendable work, which gives much delight both to singers and to hearers, but the peculiar knack possessed by Nanalal, when he relaxes sufficiently to indulge in this kind of writing has never really been equalled " (p. 23).

One would have relished references to the valuable services of Botadkar and Khabardar, and of " Lalit " and Chandravadan Mehta. But obviously the limits of the lectures must have prevented Divan Bahadur from indulging in going over a wider type of survey.

Midway between Prose and Poetry, there has come into existence the poetical prose of Nanalal. Divan Bahadur analyses its exact force, nature, significance and delicacy. The form as handled by Nanalal is certainly charming. But Nanalal, in this matter, is as it were a literary school by himself. It is difficult to imitate him, and attempts at imitation have only resulted in farce and failure.

Coming next to the Drama form, Divan Bahadur throws a hurried glance on the *Bhavāis* of old and the *Parasis' Kathās*—coarse and crude forms that have now almost disappeared—and on the beginnings of modern play-writing as in the works of Dalpatram, Navalram, Ranchhodhbhai Udayaram, and even as in the works of Proprietors and Managers of Nātak Mandajis, like Wagjhi Asharam and Dahyabhai Dholashaji, concluding his remarks by references to living writers like Kanaialal Munshi and Yashavant Pandya. The Drama form has still to grow. Though there are latest types like One Act Plays as in Batubhai Umarvadia's writings, and very recent good attempts at handling Problem Dramas as in Mr. Shantilal Shah's કષાળાર and Historical Dramas as in Mr. G. L. Pandya's શાહી પાકાપત્રિ some of which are written after Divan Bahadur's lectures were delivered and quite recently, yet the fact remains that the Drama form is yet very undeveloped in Gujarati. Divan Bahadur considers its future " uncertain." " The cinema, however, made great inroads on the popularity of the theatre, and the ' talkies ' have made still further inroads, furnishing as they do, all the features and amusement that a theatre can. It is, therefore, not quite clear what future awaits the theatre in Gujarat." (p. 33). We are, however, optimistic. The province has developed a very critical literary consciousness and it is probable that the Drama form will be as active as

the Novel, in the coming decade or two, looking to tendencies which are fast developing.

Divan Bahadur is clearly optimistic about the Novel form, which he traces from its rise in *Karan Ghelo* down to *Gujarat-no-nâlîk* and *Pâtan-ni-Prabhu*. Divan Bahadur could have gone on down to very recent productions, the Novels of Mr. Ramanlal V. Desai, which seem to hold the readers' curiosity and expectations spell-bound for the present. Problem-stories are increasing in number and the fashion set by foreign literature is shaking off our old fetters of thought and form, and the new productions seem to follow their own lines of national growth.

There is a note of despair about History and Biography. But it has dawned on the minds of Gujaratis that a history of Gujarat systematically written from original sources is very much to be desired. In this connection we feel that it is regrettable that the University of Bombay has yet done nothing either in its courses of studies or in its other activities, to give a vigorous impetus to research in the histories of the provinces, including Gujarat and Kathiawad, which come under its fold.

Biographical literature is equally undeveloped. Divan Bahadur says : "A book like Morley's "Gladstone" has yet to come. With our present literary equipment, however, we do not despair of getting it" (p. 39). The days when we could be satisfied with biographies of the type of Mahipatram's sketch of Durgaram Mehtaji and Karsondas Mulji, or of Dr. Kantilal's life of Govardhanram Tripathi or Mr. V. N. Mehta's sketch of Nandasankar Tulashankar are gone. We want detailed and faithful records of the leading stars in the literary, social and political firmament of Gujarat. Mahatma Gandhiji's *અનુભવ*, though it does not claim to be an autobiography, is yet a lesson to all who wish to attempt autobiographies or biographies in Gujarati.

Divan Bahadur next passes on to the literature of Travels. Numbers of interesting books have of late been written on the subject and this form cannot be said to be neglected in Gujarati. Philosophy, including Vedant, Pantheism and Sufism, and Theology are also not neglected, and Divan Bahadur has no note of despair in this connection. However, we would have wished reference to the valuable services of Manilal Nabhubhai, Rao Bahadur Kamalashankar Trivedi, and Principal Anandashankar Dhruva to the philosophical literature of Gujarat.

The essay form is also a product of the modern times beginning with Narmadashankar. The papers read in the several sessions of the

Sāhitya Parishad are but essays in a disguised form. This form is naturally not so popular as the Novel or the Drama form. Divan Bahadur notices that whereas 100 novels were published in 1932, books of essays published were only 6 in number.

Satisfaction is expressed at the growth of journalistic literature. Gujarati newspapers and journals are quite up-to-date and modern, with nice illustrations and attractive covers, and demand for better work and technique is growing almost every day, so that Divan Bahadur feels, and rightly too, that there will be a still greater response and a still greater improvement in journalism in future.

Divan Bahadur complains about the paucity of scientific works, but feels rejoiced at juvenile literature. Compliments are given to the educational activities of the Dakṣināmoorti Vidyārthi Bhavan of Bhavanagar, the Shāradā and Bāla Mandirs of Ahmedabad, and the New Era School and the Fellowship School in Bombay. In connection with this part of Divan Bahadur's lecture, it must be added, however, that the literature connected with Science, Art, Poetics, Ethics, Politics, Economics, and Pedagogy has yet to develop considerably. But perhaps the complaint is outside the scope of the lecture.

Lecture II talks of the literature of criticism and review. Due notice is taken of the crude attempts of Narmadashankar and the creative criticisms of Navalram. Divan Bahadur talks of Navalram as a critic who instructively followed the accepted canons of criticism in his book reviews. Contrasted with him are the later reviewers like the late Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth, Manilal Nathubhai Dwivedi, N. B. Divatia, B. K. Thakore, and Prin. A. B. Dhruva, whose reviews are finished efforts at criticism, for they all had the benefits of college education, whereby they could study the best books in English and Sanskrit on the subject. Their reviews were, however, Sanskritized in expression. Divan Bahadur therefore thinks that Navalram still fares better contrasted with these learned reviewers, for his reviews were popular and shaped in such a way as would invite the reader to take up the book reviewed and read it. Reference is made by Divan Bahadur to his own reviews in the "Modern Review." From A.D. 1907 upto the time it ceased to publish reviews of books in the modern Indian languages in 1932, Gujarati books were reviewed by him in that magazine, and his method was to give a short outline of a publication first and then his own opinion as to how the author had acquitted himself. This was coupled with a few words of encouragement, though flagrant shortcomings were also pointed out. In this respect, we feel that Navalram and Krishnalalbhai resemble each other; for after all the object of a reviewer ought to be to show what services an author

renders by a publication. The shortcomings should not be passed over, but a reasonable proportion between showing merits and pointing out shortcomings should be preserved. The "Times of India" reviewer has formed a correct estimate of Divan Bahadur's worth as a critic. He says : "Divan Bahadur Jhaveri invariably brings a serene, judicial aspect to bear upon his work as a literary critic." (Times of India, 1st June, 1935). We are reminded of his reviews, both in the "Modem Review" and privately, of our "*Nivrtti Vinoda*", about twenty years ago. The two reviews were as judicious as balanced, and as encouraging as critical. And what holds true of his reviews holds true of his views at every page of his little book under review here. Ripe judgment and impartial, balanced attitude are visible at every page of this book of the veteran scholar. And yet we are not prepared to agree with Divan Bahadur when he says that at present there is a "void" in the matter of seasoned reviewers. Already Mr. Ramanarayan Pathak, Mr. Vijayalal Vaidya, and Mr. Navalram Trivedi have earned the reputation of being good critics, and as critics they are scholars of which any literature can be proud.

The next lecture deals with research in old literature. Note is taken of the valuable services rendered by the late Rao Bahadur Hargovindas D. Kantavala, and by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, and Jain Bhandars all over Gujarat. The Prâchîn Kâvya Mâlā under the patronage of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Bhat Kâvya Dohan series and the Anand Kâvya Mahodadhi series are some monumental specimens of what research has done for Gujarati literature.

The earliest writings in manuscripts available as a result of researches belong to a period about 1100 Samvat, written in *Apabhrañña*. About 1300 A.D. the language began to resemble Gujarati. Paper was used for manuscripts as far back as 1400 Samvat.

It is a healthy feature of our literary activities that the spirit of research is actively going on. We have among us students of research like Mr. Ambalal B. Jani, Mr. Natavarlal I. Desai, Mr. Manjulal R. Majumdar, Mr. Jagjivan Badheka and others, who are always on the alert to secure and edit old manuscripts.

Lecture IV deals with Research in the History of Gujarat. It shows what useful spade work was done by A. K. Forbes in his "*Râsa Mâlā*", and how the Forbes Gujarati Sâhitya Sabhâ has taken steps to preserve materials in its possession. A collection of a large number of copies of stone and copperplate inscriptions and other materials has been published by this Sabhâ under the title "Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat". The spirit of research has kept working this or that individual enthusiast of archaeological collections. Death Registers, and copperplate inscriptions—materials which have been ransack-

ed to reveal some story of this or that event or section of history connected with old dynasties and fallen powers in Gujarat. Divan Bahadur has an optimistic outlook on this subject and he feels that it is a promising feature of the times that the "research conscience" of Gujarat has been enlivened, which lends promise of more satisfactory results in the future.

In the last lecture minor miscellaneous things are dealt with. Under the heading *Humsur*, Divan Bahadur gives an idea of the literature of mirth in Gujarat. Premanand, whose splendid art in creating mirth every student of literature knows, has a good later substitute in the person of the late Sir Ramanbai Nilkanth. The Hindi Panch also has been a source of mirth to a large section of readers. Dhansukhlal Mehta and Jyotindra Dave, not noticed in the lecture, are also well-known as writers of very humorous literature. We agree with Divan Bahadur that there is a future for the art of cartoonists and writers of humorous literature.

The influence of Persian and Urdu on Gujarati is next noticed. Persian was the language of the rulers of Gujarat and no wonder it influenced the Gujaratis considerably. Not only cultured Parsis, but even high caste Hindus, Nâgars and Kâyasthas, fell under the spell of Persian. An extreme case is mentioned by Divan Bahadur. "One Nâgar Brahmin of Surat was so enamoured of Persian that he used to recite his Sandhyâ in that language" (p. 108).

The same was the case of Urdu in regard to Gujarati. Though Urdu literature as such has not influenced Gujarati literature, yet the Gazal form of lyric came into existence in Gujarati through it, and the form has come to stay.

The concluding portion of the lecture deals with Muslim efforts at writing the history of their Provinces. Hindus rarely wrote history, and when they tried, they did so in Persian. Historical material is available about Cambay, Ahmedabad and Surat; and this has been availed of by writers on the subject.

The above will give an idea of the comprehensive and critical notice taken by Divan Bahadur Jhaveri of the broad outputs of present Gujarati literature. This literature has benefited in every form and every respect by contact with western literature and methods of study. Yet, it has to grow, and the chief value of Divan Bahadur's lectures lies in the silent, yet effective way in which his review lends to be constructive and suggestive, while yet it continues to be critical on the whole. His lectures may well be deemed to be a silent call to duty to young workers. We want more research, we want historical books, we want dramas, we want more of critical literature

and more of serious reflective literature. Let us hope that Divan Bahadur's lectures may prove a healthy and suggestive review for the students anxious to know the limits of their achievements.

Divan Bahadur is a silent and substantial worker. As we have ourselves observed in our editorial notice in the "Sāhityakāra" in Gujarati, "he never likes show, he likes substantial work. He is never in search of work, work pursues him. He is never in pursuit of Fame, Fame follows him." That the University could get him to undertake the Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures is a most pleasant feature of his consciousness of his academic responsibilities. These lectures may be read with advantage by post graduate students not only of Gujarati, but of other modern Indian languages. We would even go further and recommend to the University authorities the institution of such lecture series in Marathi, Kannada and Sindhi at least if not in other modern Indian languages and their literatures. We have nothing but the best terms of praise for Divan Bahadur's lectures, and we are very glad that the University of Bombay has published them as a University publication, so that they will be preserved as a handy volume for a large class of readers to-day and in future.



A. K. TRIVEDI.

3rd June, 1935.

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